THE EMPIRE CLUB

ADDRESSES 1978-1979

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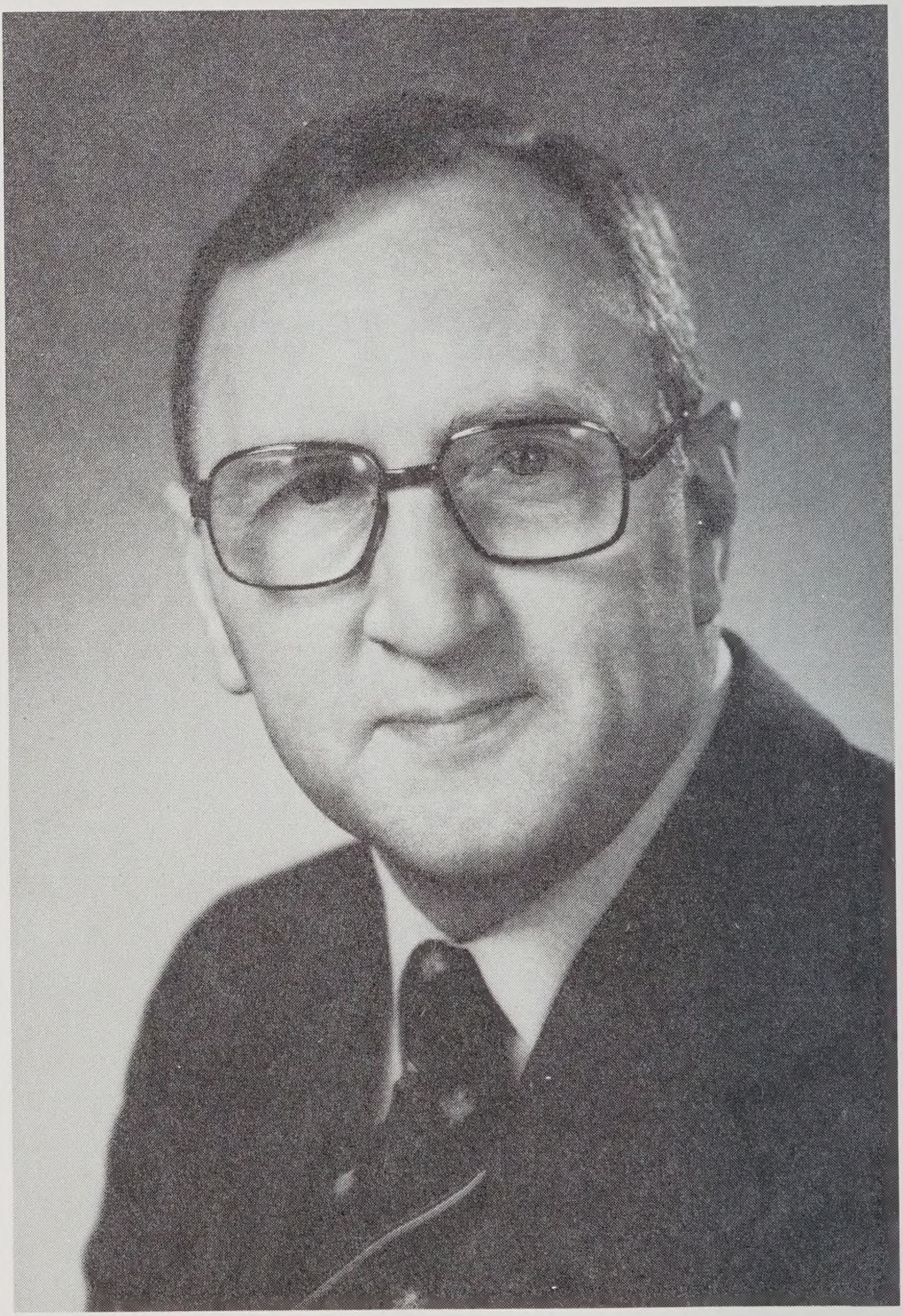
The Empire Club of Canada
1978-1979



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REGINALD W. LEWIS
PRESIDENT, 1978-1979

ADDRESSES 1978-1979

The Empire Club of Canada

SEVENTY-SIXTH YEAR

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

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The Empire Club of Canada

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†*Deceased*

Preface

In pursuance of my responsibilities as President in our 75th year, I have had many occasions to delve into the back issues of "the little red book." No matter how prosaic the purpose of my search through these pages, I remained impressed, if not awe-struck, by this vast compendium of living history presented by the foremost people of their time, speaking with authority upon the issues of the day. And the thought kept recurring that we must remain forever grateful for the initiative and the foresight of that little group who gathered in Webb's Restaurant on November 18th, 1903, and organized The Empire Club of Canada.

It is in this spirit that The Empire Club of Canada, with the financial support and co-operation of the Empire Club Foundation, presents the annual yearbook of speeches for 1978-1979.

Brigadier General Reginald W. Lewis
President, 1978-1979

The opinions and views expressed in the
addresses contained in this volume are those
of the speakers themselves and do not necessarily
carry the full or partial endorsement of
The Empire Club of Canada.

Edited by Reginald W. Lewis

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The Empire Club of Canada
1978-1979

Portrait by Cavouk, Toronto

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

Testimonial Dinner

Under the patronage of

Colonel The Honourable Pauline McGibbon
O.C., B.A., LL.D., D.U., D.Hum.L., B.A.A. (Theatre),
Hon. F.R.C.P.S. (C)
Lieutenant Governor of Ontario

Honouring

Major General Bruce Jarvis Legge
C.M.M., C.St.J., E.D., C.D., Q.C.

Friday, 23rd June, 1978

Chairman
Brigadier General Reginald W. Lewis, C.D.

The first event of the 1978-1979 Empire Club season, that the membership participated in, was held on Friday, June 23, 1978. The event was a testimonial dinner held in the Concert Hall of the Royal York Hotel. The guest of honour was Major General Bruce Legge. The dinner was organized to recognize General Legge's forty years of continuous service in the Canadian Armed Forces and also his many community activities, including the Presidency of the Empire Club and his current chairmanship of the Empire Club Foundation. The dinner was attended by over eight hundred friends of Bruce Legge and the highlight of the evening was the presentation of an inscribed ceremonial General Officer's sword to the guest of honour by the Minister of National Defence, Lieutenant Colonel the Honourable Barnett Danson.

The program of the evening was as follows:

PROGRAM

8 o'clock p.m.
Arrival of Her Honour The Lieutenant Governor of Ontario

Vice-Regal Salute

GRACE
Major The Reverend Father Richard J. Newsham, C.D.

DINNER

THE QUEEN
Proposed by Her Honour The Lieutenant Governor of Ontario

The Royal Anthem

APPRECIATIONS

The Community and the Church
Right Reverend Lewis S. Garnsworthy, B.A., D.D.
Bishop of The Anglican Diocese of Toronto

The Law
H. Allan Leal, Esquire, Q.C, LL.D.
Deputy Attorney General and
Former President of The Empire Club of Canada

The Regiment
Lieutenant Colonel John H.C. Clarry, M.B.E., E.D., C.D., Q.C.
National President, Canadian Forces Logistics Association

The Empire Club of Canada
Sydney Hermant, Esquire
President, Imperial Optical Company Ltd. and
Former President of The Empire Club of Canada

The Soldier and Patriot
Lieutenant Colonel The Honourable Barnett J. Danson, P.C., M.P.
Minister of National Defence

RESPONSE
Major General Bruce J. Legge

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Skirmishers of the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada
attended by kind permission of the Commanding Officer,
Lieutenant Colonel W.S. Wilson, C.D.

The Band of The Royal Regiment of Canada, under the
direction of Captain G. Falconi, and The Pioneers of
The Royal Regiment of Canada
attended by kind permission of the Commanding Officer,
Lieutenant Colonel G.S. Thomson, C.D.

Piper and Lance Bearers of 25 Toronto Service Battalion
attended by kind permission of the Commanding Officer,
Lieutenant Colonel A.A. Amos, C.D.

The program also contained the following tribute to General Legge:

Major General Legge's military career started forty years ago when he joined the University of Toronto Canadian Officer Training Corps in 1938. Since then he has served continuously in all ranks from Officer Cadet to Major General.

During World War II he served overseas in various command and staff appointments. Returning to Canada at war's end, he served in the Royal Canadian Army Service Corps and from 1958 to 1962 commanded 5 Column RCASC. After various senior staff appointments, he was named the first Commanding Officer of the newly created 1st Toronto Service Battalion in 1965. Following this command, he was appointed Adviser to the Commander of Central Ontario Region, formerly Central Command.

In 1970, when Central Militia Area was created, Bruce Legge was promoted Brigadier General to become the Area Commander. He commanded the Area for three years and was then appointed the Adviser to the Commander Mobile Command. In 1973 he was appointed the Major General Reserves, a position he served with great distinction until earlier this year.

Bruce Legge has been one of the foremost spokesmen of the Armed Forces and particularly for the Reserves. He was the Vice-Chairman of the Suttie Commission on the reorganization of the Militia, National President of the Royal Canadian Army Service Corps Association, and Chairman of the Conference of Defence Associations. Also, he was instrumental in the creation of the Canadian Armed Forces Logistics Association.

One of General Legge's major involvements has been with the Interallied Confederation of Reserve Officers of NATO (CIOR). He has represented Canada at the bi-annual meetings of the Confederation since 1965. In August next, he will become the Secretary-General of the Confederation, the first Canadian to hold this appointment. For his services to CIOR in 1974 he was invested, in Oslo, Knight of the Ordre Souverain et Militaire au Temple de Jerusalem.

General Legge has had a variety of careers in law, the military, and private and public charities. For many years he advocated the rights of Canadian veterans before the Canadian Pension Commission. He is the Vice-Chairman of the Church of the Good Samaritan, a half-way house for distressed men in downtown Toronto, and was the President of the Good Neighbours' Club, a day-care centre for aged and unemployable men. For this latter service to the community, he was given the Award of Merit of the City of Toronto.

Internationally, General Legge has been a member of Rehabilitation International and a President of the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions (the Compensation Boards of the English-speaking world).

Nationally, he has been the President and Chairman of the Board of the Canada Safety Council, the President of The

At the Testimonial Dinner for Major General Bruce Legge, from left to right: The President, Donald McGibbon, Esq., Laura Legge, the Honourable Pauline McGibbon, Sheila Lewis, and the guest of honour.

Empire Club of Canada, and the President and Honorary President of the Royal Canadian Military Institute. Currently, he is the President of the Royal Commonwealth Society.

In his professional capacity, he has been the President of the Medico-Legal Society of Toronto, the President of the Canadian Association of Workmen's Compensation Boards, and a member of the National Executive of the Canadian Bar Association.

Bruce Legge is acknowledged as one of our country's finest speakers, and has lectured extensively in Canada, the United States, and abroad.

General Legge is married with three children. He practises law in Toronto with his wife Laura as a partner in the firm of Legge & Legge. Bruce Legge is the holder of the Efficiency Decoration and the Canadian Forces Decoration. He is a Commander of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and on May 31 he was invested a Commander of the Order of Military Merit by the Governor General.

We are proud to salute Bruce Legge, not for the length but for the excellence of his service to Queen and Canada.

OCTOBER 5,
1978

Quebec Update

AN ADDRESS BY Claude Ryan,
LEADER OF THE LIBERAL PARTY
IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Mr. Minister, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: Today is both a happy and a sad occasion: happy, because it is a pleasure to be once again amongst the friendly membership that is this club; sad, because the speaker who was to address us in two weeks time is no longer with us. The Honourable John Rhodes, Minister of Industry and Tourism for the Province of Ontario, collapsed and died in Iran two weeks ago while about his province's business. Besides his gift of oratory, we can add humanity and dedicated service to all Ontarians. We will particularly miss him two weeks hence but his loss to Ontario is timeless.

It is a pleasure to welcome you back from the summer holiday season and to open the first meeting of our 75th anniversary year by presenting to you a most distinguished and well-known personage. With the exception of substituting 75th for 50th, the words I have just uttered ushered in the 50th anniversary year of this club. The president of the day, Mr. Inwood, then went on to warn the club of the adverse criticism from Miss Lotta Dempsey then of the *Globe and Mail* staff, who had threatened to picket that meeting if ladies were not invited to attend. How different today. Not only do ladies attend, but they provide a valuable, vocal, and completely integrated and substantial part of the membership of this club and of its board of directors.

When asked during a recent television interview about his capacity for work, the man being interviewed responded: "After seven or eight days I find a little time to shut the door of my study at home and begin reading the Bible or writings of religious authors . . . it helps you be born again to the things you cherish most. Then you return to your work and try to be as good as you can."

A writer in *The Financial Post* writes about the same man: "the signal quality which will affect substantially all his dealings with others is his stern, uncompromising morality. Even in his moment of triumph, he spoke of honesty, balance, and morality."

And later in the television interview, these words: "I think each man has to answer a few calls in his life and they come in a more or less clear form . . . In my case it came very, very clearly and if I was to be a man of courage, I had to answer the call."

These words, better than any of mine, describe the nature and character of the man who earlier this year was elected leader of the Quebec Liberal Party, and our speaker today, Mr. Claude Ryan.

It is not often that we hear words like this from or about a politician. Then it is not often that we encounter a politician of the stature of Claude Ryan. Educated in the Quebec classical college tradition, a study year at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome, General Secretary of L'Action Catholique Canadien, writer and later publisher of the influential Quebec daily, *Le Devoir*, a recipient of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews Human Relations award, member of the Canadian News Hall of Fame, Mr. Ryan appears on the political stage at a critical time in our history. I think that most of us share his philosophy that it is possible to be a Quebecker and a Canadian without sacrificing that uniqueness of character and culture that is the gift of the true Quebecker. Perhaps we shall gain a better insight into that philosophy as we listen to our speaker.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured to introduce Mr. Claude Ryan, leader of the Quebec Liberal Party.

MR. RYAN:

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Minister, distinguished head table guests, ladies and gentlemen: Je voudrais tout d'abord parler quelques mots en français pour vous remercier de votre accueil tres genéreux.

I wish to congratulate The Empire Club of Canada on this 75th anniversary which it is celebrating this year. I had not realized, upon first accepting your invitation, that I would be with you on such a momentous occasion as this one. I wish to pay my respects, and extend my warmest wishes to you for the future. Thanks and congratulations on a job which has been well done and which I hope will long continue to be done by the club.

I wish to thank you most sincerely for this third opportunity which you are giving me today of addressing The Empire Club of Canada. One of your former presidents, who is a close friend of mine, was reminding me last night of the warm reception which he extended to me on your behalf about eight years ago.

Just to illustrate how things can change quickly and radically on the political scene, my first meeting with your club took place a few months before Robert Bourassa was swept into office as Quebec premier for the first time in April of 1970. I returned a few years later to address your club on a topic which I had entitled "The Price of Unity." That speech was delivered in the wake of the wide-spread euphoria which followed the second victory of the Bourassa government in 1973.

While most observers felt at the time that Quebec had probably done away in a definitive manner with the separatist threat, I kept insisting that the Parti Québécois still repre-ented a much more potent force than a superficial reading of the election results seemed to suggest at the time. The only thing I could not have foreseen then was that five years later I would be called upon to lead the Liberal Party in the battle against the P.Q. in the forthcoming referendum on the constitutional future of Quebec and Canada, and then hopefully, in a general election. I had still less expected that I would again be invited to address your club in my new role as leader of the Liberal Party.

Claude Ryan,
Leader of the Liberal
Party in the Province
of Quebec

The transition from the relatively comfortable role of the critic to that of the political leader is not an easy one by any account. Politics has its great moments of exhilaration, solidarity and triumph. Next to religion, I like to say, it is by its very nature the loftiest occupation that can be contemplated by man. But it is also an extremely tough world, in which only two species seem able to survive: those who are content with following the tide of the day without ever really committing themselves, and those who are really strong and dedicated to the pursuit of noble and deep-seated convictions, and in addition, have a lot of luck working for them. In my case, time alone will tell if I can survive.

But I can assure you of two things. First, after all the pressures which had been applied upon me in the months which preceded my decision to enter politics last January, I had no choice but to take the plunge into the agitated waters of party politics. Second, the first six months of my new career have naturally brought their fair share of bruises and frustrations, but on the whole the results have been rather encouraging.

In my remarks today, I should like to deal with the nature of the challenge which we are facing in Quebec and to also comment on what we expect from our fellow Canadians in the battle which lies ahead. The indications which we have gathered until now about the state of public opinion in Quebec since our convention last April have been rather encouraging. The membership of our party has nearly doubled within less than a year. From less than 50,000 last January, it had soared to 90,000 by the end of August and will certainly exceed the 100,000 mark by a good margin before the end of the present year.

I have gone to countless places in Quebec during the last six months. Everywhere the reception has been cordial, even warm. In the only confrontation which we have had with the P.Q. at the polls since our convention, that is to say in the (Montreal) Notre-Dame de Grace by-election which took place last July 5, we won handsomely not only in the English parts of the riding, but even in the 80% francophone city of Ville St.-Pierre. The sixteen polls located in Ville St.-Pierre had given the P.Q. about 1,350 votes against 930 for the Liberals in November of 1976. This time we got nearly 1,100 votes against about 870 for the P.Q., which means that there had been a considerable reversal in the opinions of the voters.

Three opinion polls conducted in the last three or four months have equally shown that our party is now ahead of the P.Q. in popularity. These polls also suggest that the P.Q. still has a little edge over the Liberals among francophone voters, even if that was contradicted by the results of the Ville St.-Pierre election. If one considers that we were about twenty-five points behind the P.Q. in opinion polls taken only a year ago, our resurgence in the last few months has been remarkable. But the battle, as you can see, is still far from won. As I underlined as early as 1973, the sectors of our population which still provide fertile ground for the P.Q. are those with considerable political clout and considerable orientation towards the future.

The attraction of the Parti Québécois position lies in two factors which can be easily understood. First, Confederation provides a facile and perfect scapegoat for the explanation of all our difficulties, whether one talks about agriculture, the textile industry, housing, unemployment, investment or the C.B.C. – all the things that have gone badly can always be ascribed to the federal system. And who doesn't seem to be in sympathy with those who criticize that monster which the Ottawa government often appears to be in the eyes of most Canadians, not only Quebeckers. I wish to underline the point that it is far more easy to attack the federal system than it is to come to its defence. If you want to attack the system, you just choose your targets, however limited and partial they may be. If you want to defend the system, you have to embrace it as a whole. You have to assume all the shortcomings of the past and show that the blessings and the benefits were far greater. This requires a lot more work and is much more difficult to put across to your listeners.

Second, our opponents appeal to one of the most powerful and natural instincts. In the members of every self-respecting national community there is the desire to be responsible for their own affairs, the wish to shape their own future in accordance with their deepest preferences.

Our position here is much more rational: it appeals much more to reason and logic than to sentiment. It has to be presented with a lot more care and precision.

Those are the two factors which we must consider, and to which all of us should be attentive in the battle that is being prepared at the moment. If we want to defeat the Parti Québécois thesis, we must successfully challenge them on at least four main counts.

First, we must offer to our people in Quebec a party which is really representative of all segments of the population, and whose methods and functioning are absolutely beyond reproach from a democratic point of view. We must offer our fellow citizens a party which likes to deal with ideas, a party which has an articulate view of society and which does not merely present empty slogans which are not likely to be followed by precise action. This is the kind of challenge which the P.Q. has created for us. I think that indirectly it will perhaps be remembered in history as a blessing in disguise.

We must be able to demonstrate that the political, economic and cultural advantages of Confederation are superior to the quite legitimate attractions of sovereignty. Some opponents of separatism are still inclined to resort to the old scare tactics which used to be successful in the good old days. We must rather emphasize positive arguments, in order to win the minds of our fellow Quebeckers on a lasting basis.

I need not enumerate before this audience the numerous positive arguments that we will inject into the debate. I wish to assure you that they are being prepared at the moment with great care. I should like to underline here the grave responsibility which falls upon the federal government to come up with sound, reliable and complete data regarding the past and present functioning of our federal system. They are in possession of those data and I hope they will make them available in the most honest and complete form. They have begun doing just that, but we are counting a lot on the kind of substantive documentation which they will put at our disposal. I deplore that in the past, too much of this information has remained secret, especially as regards economic exchanges between the different parts of Canada. We have only begun to see some data in this extremely vital area. This is not of concern only to Quebec, but to all of us, especially those Canadians who live in the less prosperous and developed regions.

We must have the honesty to recognize that all has not been perfect in the Canadian experiment until now, and that important redressments must be envisioned. Of the shortcomings that we must recognize I will list only three examples.

It is great to speak today about the future of a country which belongs equally to all Canadians. But to all practical purposes, past policies, especially in the provinces, have too often tended either to the assimilation of French Canadians into the anglophone mainstream, or to the confinement of French Canadians to the Province of Quebec. The new Quebec-centred nationalism which has emerged in the present generation is largely a by-product of the rejection which French Canadians and their culture had suffered for too long at the hands of the rest of the country in the other provinces of Canada.

For many years, French-speaking Canadians have also been denied their fair share of participation in the economic decision-making processes, in both the public and the private sectors of the economy. The relative poverty which has resulted therefrom is largely to be attributed to errors and deficiencies which we will have to correct in the future.

Thirdly, the Province of Quebec has too often had the impression that it was relegated, for all practical purposes, to the rank of a mere province like the others. This simplistic attitude has never been really accepted in Quebec. It is less accepted today than at any other time, and we will have to learn to deal with that special factor in the negotiations which must lead to more stable constitutional arrangements.

Finally, we (I am speaking of those who want to defend the federalist cause in Quebec) must present to the people of Quebec in time for the referendum a constitutional platform which will have to be substantial enough to meet the widespread desire for change which one senses everywhere in the province, and which must at the same time be compatible with the federal principle and acceptable to our fellow Canadians in the other provinces.

Some people would like us to refrain from putting forward too specific proposals in this area. A lot of people think that it is not the job of an opposition party to come up with precise proposals, but that it should let the government defeat itself and then assume power having accepted as few commitments as possible. I don't think that attitude is defendable in the context in which we will have to defend the federal thesis in Quebec. The desire for change is so widespread and has been confirmed by so many opinion polls, that we will have to face up to that particular difficulty in the referendum campaign.

As I have indicated, we have a commission working on that problem in our party. It is presided over by the distinguished Quebec City lawyer, Mr. Renaud Langlois. It comprises very prominent members from different shades of thought. They have begun to tackle their mandate in a very constructive spirit. I have the assurance that they will come up in plenty of time for the referendum with a set of proposals that should be a major factor in helping us arrive at renewed arrangements which will be acceptable to all of us.

Needless to say, we are resolved to act in this matter in a spirit of close consultation with political leaders and parties in the other provinces, and even, eventually, in the federal area. We are refraining to the greatest possible extent from any kind of partisan activity outside of the province. We want to deal with all provincial parties in a spirit of friendship and solidarity. I am glad to mention the presence here today of one of my closest colleagues, Mr. Claude Forget, former Minister of Social Affairs in the previous government of Quebec, who at my request has agreed to undertake an information mission to all other provinces in Canada in order to enquire about the progress of their own work in the constitutional area, to apprise them of our own progress and difficulties, to try to prepare an atmosphere which will help us come together for formal or informal discussions when we are a little more advanced.

Our platform will be federalist. We are deeply committed to the goal of a modernized federal system of government for Canada. When I say that, I do insist that we want a system of government which would provide for two levels of government intervention: the federal parliament elected in a democratic manner by the sovereign people, and provincial or state legislatures equally entrusted with real powers and elected on a democratic basis by the sovereign people. But whilst we maintain this first element of our platform and build upon it, we will go as far as is reasonably possible towards meeting the new aspirations which have developed in Quebec in the last twenty years, and which have also blossomed in other parts of the country in the last ten years.

We must in particular devise arrangements which will guarantee, among others, the following things. First, that the essential elements of the economic union which we have had since Confederation are not only preserved but reinforced. Secondly, that our economic union is placed under the authority of a democratically elected parliament responsible to the sovereign people and equipped with sufficient powers to act and speak at home and abroad on behalf of all the people of this country. Thirdly, that some basic inalienable rights of our citizens are enshrined in the renewed constitution of tomorrow, and thus placed above the whim of any particular legislature or government of the day. Fourthly, that the provinces are assured of a more effective responsible participation in federal policy and decision-making processes in the future. Fifthly, that Quebec is more clearly recognized as the mainstay of French culture in the country, and is fully protected against any centralizing legislation or judicial interpretation which might place unacceptable curbs upon its free development in line with its original culture. Sixthly, that the two languages spoken in this country are to be equal in some well-defined areas, and where such equality is vital that this be guaranteed in all parts of the country.

I think if we can explicitly agree on such fundamental postulates of a constitutional revision, we could then tackle in a constructive spirit the concrete modalities which should follow.

We are resolved, on our side, to fight a very vigorous battle in Quebec for the true freedoms which we believe can be better guaranteed under a federal system of government. But by its very nature our action cannot succeed if we are left alone to fight.

In the months which followed the election of November 15, 1976, I noticed that the biggest leaders and spokesmen had become much more attentive to every utterance, to every decision, to every move made in the rest of Canada. They have become attentive to developments in the rest of Canada for two understandable reasons. They want to accumulate fresh evidence showing that the present system cannot work. Whatever negative reaction that is elicited anywhere in the country will be used to serve their political interests. And they are now looking for friends and sympathizers to whom they can turn. They are trying to sell their constitutional package to the people of Quebec and then to the people of the rest of Canada.

You will, of course, make your own decisions in Ontario, but I should like to mention five different areas which are going to be crucial in the months ahead. Individual citizens, and that includes all of us, will be called upon to make all kinds of personal decisions likely to affect opinion in Quebec directly or indirectly. Some will have to decide whether they are going to stay in Quebec or to leave Quebec, whether to settle in Quebec or invest in Quebec. Some will have to decide about where to travel on their next holiday. Some will have to decide about whether their kids will be given a chance to learn another language. All of us will be called upon to vote in the federal election in the next few months. Thousands of decisions, individual decisions of a private nature, will have to be made which will have an invisible but nonetheless real bearing on the development of public opinion in Quebec and in the rest of the country. I submit that those decisions made by each and every one of us will not be indifferent to the ultimate result of the battle in Quebec.

Companies and corporations will continue in the months ahead to make decisions regarding different aspects of their operations, including investment decisions and decisions regarding location of staff in this or that part of the country. Their moves are being followed with great attention. Every decision which is made without regard to the due interest of Quebec, without serious economic justification, will be an indirect vote for separation and will inevitably strengthen the case for separatism. We have seen several examples in the last two years of situations which were handled very poorly and of decisions which were hard to justify from a purely economic point of view. I stress that these factors are going to be invoked constantly in the debate which we will have to wage in the months ahead.

The media, of course, have great responsibility on both sides of the language barrier. I am not suggesting by any means that expression of foolish opinions or interpretations of events should be suppressed in the media. I think it is far healthier if all opinions are given a free chance to reach the general public. But I do hope that there will be enough responsible citizens, editors and journalists to bring a firm reply to each falsehood, to each abusive opinion which will be expressed. I was surprised to find out that our separatist friends in Montreal pay a lot more attention than I do to the readers' letters columns in our papers and in your papers. Some of them are making scientific studies in order to get master's degrees on such foolish subjects!

In the months ahead it is incumbent upon each one of us to see to it that in his sphere of influence no false utterance, no abusive interpretation, no unjust accusation is left unanswered. We have begun doing that in Quebec. I hope it will be done in all parts of the country.

In passing, I would like to comment on the constructive work that is being done on the whole by the two leading daily newspapers of this city in the province of Quebec. The *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* have representatives in Quebec who follow the Quebec scene with great competence. I think the reporting you have is, in general, quite fair. I hope this could apply to the whole of the country, but with regard to those two papers I am glad to underline that they have covered events in Quebec not always according to my own expectations (because when you are a politician, you never get enough praise from the press), but basically they have been doing a competent job.

We are counting a great deal on provincial political leaders in other parts of Canada. I underlined this before, and I am returning to this theme because it is one of the most important today. When I go to my people in Quebec with some proposals regarding arrangements which might be acceptable to them, they will immediately ask me, "Have you tested these proposals with other leaders in the rest of the country?" So often in the past, Quebec governments have come up with proposals which remained unanswered and ended up in the archives where they are still dormant. Our people will ask, "Do you have reasonably well-founded expectations that there is a chance that your proposals will be accepted?"

We are trying to work out proposals in conversation with other leaders because we do not want to act alone. There is nothing easier than to draft a new constitution in the isolation of your study. But to work out proposals that will have a fair chance of acceptance in the rest of the country is an extremely difficult challenge. We will have to do something in this area, and I count on provincial leaders in all parties to help us in this direction. My feeling at the moment is that there is a danger that leaders in other provinces might relapse into some kind of complacency in the expectation that everything will finally turn out all right in the province of Quebec. We do not know. The challenge is a very difficult and explosive one and if no creative work is accomplished in the rest of the country, if we are received with indifference, if there is not the same application towards finding original solutions as we are trying to deploy in Quebec, I think the results could be extremely disappointing.

As for the federal government, I recognize that they are in a very difficult position at the moment. To be very frank, my impression on this is that little can be accomplished before the next federal election. We will have a constitutional conference early in November, but I don't expect the provincial governments to be too inclined to move forward rapidly in view of the forthcoming election. I do not think the federal government will have the strength needed to press its proposals forcefully when it will be going through an election next spring or summer. I would expect that they will show as much flexibility and suppleness in this period of transition as is possible.

I think the true moment for constitutional change will come after we have had the referendum in Quebec. Regardless of the outcome of that referendum, I think we will be in for very serious conversations. If we win the referendum, as I expect we will, I think we will want to have serious and decisive conversations with our friends, which will be followed in this respect with great attention by our opponents. They will not be dead after the referendum. Should they win it, of course, the negotiations will have to take place along more radical lines.

This is my view of the situation as it seems likely to develop in the months ahead. I wish to assure you that we will work very hard. I made the decision to enter politics because I was resolved to bring the contribution that was expected of me in this area. I will remain on the firing line as long as my services are wanted. Not longer, I hope!

I think we are in for a very interesting game. I'm not too much afraid of the polarization which is occurring in Quebec. It is explosive in a sense, but I think it is a law of life that sooner or later collectivities, just like individuals, must arrive at a stage where they have difficult decisions to make. We are approaching the stage where this must happen in the life of this country, in the life of our people in Quebec in particular, but the implications for the rest of us will be so great that we are all involved.

If we can accept the challenge in a positive sense, in the sense that it forces us to produce the very best of what we have in ourselves in terms of generosity, the capacity to understand, the capacity to give, the capacity to accept, perhaps this will have been the greatest opportunity for growth ever given to Canada ever since the Fathers launched Confederation. We are perhaps on the threshold of a new Confederation which could be still more dynamic, more productive than the Confederation we have known in the first century of our history.

Should the other solution be imposed on us, I think to the extent that we will have worked seriously in the period between now and the Quebec referendum, to the same extent we will have prepared ourselves and our fellow citizens to accept the democratic verdict of the people in a constructive spirit. Life is given to us, not in order that we should win all the battles in which we are engaged, but in order that we should fight them with dignity, with all the strength of which we are capable, with all the truthfulness which we can deploy. The rest is in the hands of the people and of God.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by John Fisher, O.C., LL.B., LL.D., D.S.S., D.Litt., D.U. (MONT.), Honorary Assistant Treasurer of The Empire Club of Canada.

OCTOBER 12, 1978

Toronto Mayoralty Candidates

ADDRESSES BY Alderman Tony O'Donohue
Alderman David Smith
Alderman John Sewell

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: Avid readers of our yearbooks will know that on November 23, 1972, a precedent was established for this club when the three city mayoralty candidates of the day addressed us.

The interest shown by our membership - and the success of that occasion - suggested that precedent should become a tradition, and we are delighted that the leading candidates for the office of chief magistrate of the City of Toronto have taken time from their extremely busy schedules to be here today: Alderman Tony O'Donohue, Executive Alderman John Sewell and Executive Alderman David Smith.

Like Joe Potts in 1972, I will refrain from giving you detailed biographical sketches of our guests, for as politicians our speakers are, of course, better able to present themselves without any assistance from me. Furthermore, no three biographical introductions would ever sound the same and I would not want to be accused of bias. And I suppose whether one is aware of it or not everybody is biased – this was evidenced by Dr. Cameron, a church minister who claimed he had no political bias whatsoever. However, on the Sunday following the election, if the Conservative candidate were successful, the opening hymn would be "Now Thank We All Our God." If the campaign

Toronto Mayoralty Candidates: Alderman Tony O'Donohue, Alderman David Smith, Alderman John Sewell

resulted in the N.D.P. candidate being elected, the opening hymn would be "Oh God Our Help in Ages Past." And when the Liberal candidate won, the opening hymn became "God Moves in Mysterious Ways His Wonders to Perform."

When you consider that the 1978 City of Toronto budget is in the order of $574 million dollars; when you consider how profoundly the deliberations and decisions of our municipal leaders affect us all, whether regulating the height of downtown buildings, the height of backyard fences or all matters in between; when you consider that the only elected politician the average citizen will ever turn to personally is the municipal politician; and when you consider that it is the municipal politician who lives in, works in and governs in the same locality as his electorate, we then begin to develop some insight into the awesome responsibilities that are shouldered by today's municipal politicians. Those who aspire to the highest of municipal office require dedication, tenacity, intelligence, and courage. We in Toronto are fortunate that these qualities are found in the three aspirants to the mayor's chair who address us today.

The tragedy of municipal politics is the poor voter turn-out – less than one third of the eligible voters in 1976, yet the actions and decisions of our municipal politicians have such an immediate and acute effect upon our lives. It is my hope, as I am sure it is yours, that this meeting will help stimulate a larger voter turn-out at the municipal elections to be held in November.

The order of our guests' speaking was determined by draw before lunch, and I have asked each to keep within his allotted ten minutes. It is now my distinct pleasure to introduce our guests in their order of speaking – the City of Toronto mayoralty candidates in the November 13th election, the first speaker being Alderman Tony O'Donohue.

MR. O'DONOHUE:

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

Distinguished head table guests, my worthy opponents, ladies and gentlemen: I am honoured to be here today to address this distinguished gathering of business, professional, academic and cultural leaders. To fully feel in your heart that the campaign you are waging for public office is not a wild dream, it is necessary to visit and speak to all spectrums of society, rich and poor, privileged and unprivileged. To appeal to only one segment of the Toronto population is denying the electorate as a whole the right to participate in the democratic process. Therefore, my campaign has and will be touching all the households of Toronto.

I have been preparing for this mayoralty campaign for a long time. During that time I have visited areas of the city outside my own ward and spoken to countless people. Through these visits I have formed a firm impression of the needs and aspirations, and also the concerns, of the people of Toronto. These concerns and the encouragement of the public before I publicly announced prompted me to run for the office of mayor, and most important, the input from the citizens helped me to form my platform. I will discuss that platform with you later.

Toronto has been described as a mosaic, a melting pot, WASPish, racially biased, racially tolerant, and many other things that newspaper people dream up to sell papers. I prefer to call it the same as the song: "People City."

What is Toronto? It is still many communities with names that have been held over from an earlier era, names such as

Parkdale, the Beaches, Forest Hill, Rosedale, the Annex, and so on. People settle and leave these communities, yet the spirit of the community lingers on. When we pass by-laws at City Council, special care has to be taken to meet the particular needs of these areas of the city, provided of course that they are not damaging other communities.

Toronto is also made up of many cultural and social backgrounds. The composition of City Council has steadily reflected this mix. City Council and the many cultural and social agencies in Toronto have helped this dialogue and I am proud to say that I have been in the forefront of such participation. People make a city. What kind of people? It is all the people that I have mentioned and have met. What do they have in common? A desire for a small place in the sun. Whether born here in Toronto, in some other place in Canada, or in far distant lands, they want a home, schooling for their children, work and recreation.

What else do these people want? What do they have in common? A concern for rising taxes, and what they are getting for their tax dollar – or, to be more accurate, what they are not getting for their tax dollar. In my travels throughout the city, citizens have asked me as they ask all politicians, "What are you going to do about my taxes? They are too high." "What are you going to do to help us?" These have become familiar questions to me in the past months.

In analyzing the operating expenses for the City of Toronto for the past eight years, I note that expenditures for 1971 totalled $93 million, and expenditures for 1978 will total over $196 million: more than double. My objective is that there be no increase in city operating expenditures in 1979 over that earmarked for 1978. "Not a dime in '79." A slogan or a catch phrase, you may say. But I intend to use that slogan as a bench mark, a constant reminder during my term as mayor that I must be ever vigilant of the taxpayer's dollars.

City Council, led by its mayor, must restore the confidence of the business community. Without them, we can have no people, no houses, no jobs. We must encourage investment to return to the city. We must be pro employment, not pro unemployment. The construction industry must return to Toronto and build much needed housing and other buildings that are necessary for the commerce of this city. At City Hall we can help by cutting out the red tape that strangles the builder, by speeding up the process of obtaining permits. The private sector must be encouraged to participate in the building of Toronto. Let me state very, very clearly. I am a free enterpriser. The private sector can build more efficiently than the public sector. I think we all know that.

This year in California, we witnessed Proposition 13, a grassroots citizens' action, primarily rising out of the devastating effect the property taxes have had on the people of that state. The mood has spread across the United States, and we feel the impact here in Canada. It's not so bad in Canada in comparison to California, but it's getting that way, with the homeowner bearing the brunt of all expenses.

Mr. Clark, federal Leader of the Opposition, proposed a policy whereby homeowners can deduct up to $1000 of property taxes from their income for their principal residence. I don't know where you stand on that, but I know where I stand. I am 100% behind that. At the present time, as an example, the apartment owner, whether it's a high rise or a duplex, can write off for income tax purposes not only property tax but mortgage interest payments as well. The guy with the little house next door is treated differently. He has to pay the full shot, with no writeoffs; not a dime. I say it's time to give the homeowner a break.

At the present, tenants have some type of protection with the ceilings on rents, but the homeowner has no ceiling whatsoever on what a municipality can charge for property taxes.

Some detractors say that this program does not make any provision for those who are not homeowners. Not so. Such a program would encourage those who now rent to buy their own homes, freeing many apartment units. This would make more accommodation available, and therefore reduce rents. This incentive would, as well, stimulate the housing industry, and all – buyer, renter, worker – would benefit. That makes sense.

If elected mayor, my first task will be to convene a meeting in Toronto with the mayors of Canada's largest cities to draft a common position to pursue this matter.

Now, let us look at City Hall. Employees are leaving the civil service at an average annual rate of about 9%. These vacancies have to be closely looked at to tighten up some operations. I feel that after, and only after, a very close study of a job should a decision be made to merge the duties or re-evaluate the post. I have spoken to department heads about their 1979 budget and they have told me that they can hold the 1979 budget to the 1978 level. They in turn ask me if I can hold Council in line, and this I have pledged to them as I now pledge to you.

I have spoken about my desire for the return of capital to Toronto, capital that fled to other cities in Canada and the United States. I am anxious that industries will not also move out of the city for three reasons. One – it is industrial development that provides the jobs for the many working class residents and new immigrants in the city. Two – industries provide the city with much needed assessment which benefits every citizen. And three – a healthy and lively city is one that is made up of all kinds of activities which cater to all types of people.

Toronto is a great city because it is a centre of industry, commerce, education, culture, entertainment, sports and recreation. We must not lose any of these activities, which are the reasons why we live in the city and which attract so many people. I have actively supported the city's industrial policy by initiating the establishment and acting as chairman of the West Toronto Industrial Co-ordinating Committee for the assistance of industry in the west end. This has been instrumental in the retention of such major firms as Rowntree-MacIntosh and Neilson's, which combined provide almost two thousand jobs. I intend to set my sights on improving the decaying industrial areas in other parts of the city, if elected mayor.

Because of the way the city has grown, however, there are many areas where industrial and residential uses are mixed together, which does create problems. I am very concerned that in these areas we achieve compatibility without undue hardship for either one. The currently proposed official plan and zoning designations for industry, together with the co-operation of the industrial co-ordinating committees and the residential organizations, hopefully should resolve these conflicts. A strong industrial policy will contribute to the continuation of the City of Toronto as a better place to live and work in than any other city in North America. I sincerely believe that.

Throughout this campaign I have been honoured by the many businessmen and women who have come forward to talk to me and to offer advice on the economic future, the budgeting, planning and management of the city, and I am not too proud to accept their advice. Many are here today and I would like to say how grateful I am that we have in Toronto such men and women with concern for the future of their city and the trust they want to place in me.

Many years ago, the late Nathan Phillips persuaded a group of business people to meet together and advise him on matters that affected this city. That group was called the Redevelopment Advisory Council. One of the first actions of the reform council in 1973 was to dismiss them out of hand. I, if elected mayor, am going to ask them back, to regroup and help me with city problems. Where else could be assembled such talent at no cost to the taxpayer?

In 1972, both David Crombie and I mentioned our concerns for the neighbourhoods, and I have talked about this in my opening remarks. But the business, cultural, academic and scientific membership of this club is also a community, and I intend to co-operate and consult with this community also.

As a member of both Metro and City Councils for the past ten years, I have been successful in bringing many progressive changes to policies and programs in these administrations. I have won the respect of city and suburban politicians, and have been the only city politician to be elected by Metro Council to serve on a major body, namely the Toronto Transportation Commission. That is why I, as mayor, can have a good relationship with Metro and the boroughs.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: I am a professional engineer. I have conducted a successful consulting practice. I intend to bring a businesslike atmosphere to the workings at City Hall. I can only hope that like-minded persons will be elected to the aldermanic seats and my message to you is go out into the community and encourage all to elect a businesslike Council for 1979 and 1980. Toronto really needs your help, and so do I. Thank you.

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Our next speaker will be Executive Alderman, David Smith.

MR. SMITH:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished head table guests, Tony and John. First of all I would like to thank you for the opportunity of addressing your club. This is a crucial election, and I appreciate the fact that the Empire Club has recognized that fact and that you have invited us here today.

Our time is short, so I would like to get to some issues. In 1972, we had a very important election in this city. It signalled a new era at City Hall. A new mayor was elected, David Crombie, and nine aldermen were elected for the first time. A number of major accomplishments have been achieved in the last six years under a completely new direction. We have adopted a very comprehensive set of new planning rules, both in the core of the city and also throughout the neighbourhoods of the city. We have taken some strong initiatives with regard to housing to try to increase the city's stock of affordable housing, particularly in the core of the city. I think we have also established that we now accept openness and accessibility at City Hall. Sometimes I sit there and listen to deputations by the hour, and sometimes they are not the sanest deputants in the world – but we hear them all. That has become a well ingrained tradition in the last six years.

But we are limited in time today, so what I would like to do is talk about the first point that I mentioned – the new set of planning rules – because I would like to take this as an example of the choice that you are faced with in determining in what direction the city should be going. Because this election will determine a new era for the City of Toronto, just as much as 1972 did.

We passed what was called the Central Area Plan, a new plan for downtown. It is very complex. A lot of people don't understand it, but don't worry about that. A lot of members of City Council don't understand it either! But let me tell you, in a nutshell, what it was about.

First of all, we decided to reduce the densities. That means that buildings cannot be quite as big. Secondly, we put in some height limits. The forty-five foot limit is long gone, in case you are worrying about that, but there are reasonable limits. We brought in policies to try to preserve historic buildings, and policies designed to have more people living in the core of the city. An example I like to use is that a street is a safer street if somebody lives on it. The same is true of an area. It is more interesting and varied, with more action. A city with people living in the core is a better city.

The fifth point about that Central Area Plan is that we have set realistic and attainable targets for acquiring park sites in the core. What we need for the next mayor of Toronto is somebody who can make that plan work, somebody committed to making it work. And let me tell you why. This city needs investment and this city needs jobs. I may be out of a job on November 14. But for the last few years I haven't had to worry about money for meals and mortgage payments, and I suspect that most of you don't have to worry about it. But I have been talking to thousands of people in this campaign, a lot of bricklayers and plumbers and electricians and carpenters, who are worried. They have families to support and children to clothe and mortgages they have to pay. We need investment and we need jobs. Money that is earned in Toronto should stay in Toronto. I don't like to see it going to Calgary and Atlanta and Houston. Toronto will not stay Canada's economic and financial capital by standing still.

This can be a city in which we have the best of both worlds. We have now put in place the most comprehensive set of planning rules that exists in the world. Over one hundred and forty-three cities *outside* of Canada have asked for the legislation about the Central Area Plan. Over forty American universities now use it as course material.

Over the last six years, we have stabilized neighbourhoods. The era of blockbusting of the late sixties, where houses would come down and high rises go up, is over. We can have a city in which the neighbourhoods are preserved, but in the core we can have very exciting things happen. Changes do not have to be threatening. Changes can be exciting. We can preserve the old City Hall and build a new one. We can restore the old Massey Hall and allow the Board of Governors to build a new one. We can save the old Eaton's College Street building, but where there used to be a parking lot around it, we can allow some apartments and offices and still have a two-and-a-half acre park. That is what this new plan is all about.

Go and have a look at the Village by the Grange. That's a complex just beside the Art Gallery that runs from Queen Street up to Dundas. Have a look, because if I become mayor of this city, you're going to see more of those. A community is moving in there, with local shops, and some apartments that are not overwhelming, that blend in with the existing fabric of the community. And I think we need leadership that is positive for things like this to happen. I believe that I can give that to you. I believe in the private sector. I believe in free enterprise and I will encourage it.

I also think we need a style of leadership that emphasizes co-operation and not confrontation. I think the confrontation era of politics that we saw in the late sixties and early seventies (maybe a lot of it had to do with Viet Nam) is really out. It is old hat. What we need are people who will try to bring governments and people together to solve problems. I believe I can give that leadership. That's been my record at City Hall. I have demonstrated an ability to steer complex legislation through. I may not have gotten too many headlines for it, but I've done it.

I was elected Deputy Mayor by my colleagues. That should tell you something. Both Tony and John actually voted for me, believe it or not!

I think that there is a very clear choice in this election. I have honest differences of opinion with my friend John Sewell and I like to be candid about them. I'd like to tell you about four of them, so that you will know what the choice is. We have to choose a direction. I represent one direction and Mr. Sewell represents another. So I'll give you the facts, and then you can choose.

Firstly, I do not believe that we need bigger government. I think Mr. Sewell does. In March of this year we had a very interesting vote. It was a simple one, but it speaks volumes. The motion was whether we would freeze the size of the civil service at Metro, so that at the end of 1978 it would be no larger than at the end of 1977. I voted to freeze it. Mr. Sewell voted against freezing it. I think it reasonable to assume that he thinks there should be more civil servants.

Secondly, I do not believe that we need a lot more interference and a lot more regulation. To be specific, the Central Area Plan that I have been talking about, that I think will be a watershed, a model for cities throughout North America. Ninety-six out of ninety-seven times, in recorded votes, Mr. Sewell voted against it. I voted for it. He felt it wasn't tight enough. So if you think we've had controls, you haven't seen anything yet – if I don't win this election.

Thirdly, I believe in a spirit of co-operation and not confrontation. For example, in the recent T.T.C. strike, there was a clear choice, a difference of opinion. I supported Premier Davis in calling the Legislature back and ending the strike. Mr. Sewell voted against that. He said the strike should go on with no interference in collective bargaining. You choose.

Fourthly, I believe I show a respect for the private sector and private property. For the last few years, Mr. Sewell has been advocating that the province give us the power to expropriate private property and pay book value and no more. Think about that.

I have given you these examples because I want to indicate some specifics to you about the direction in which I think Mr. Sewell will go, and the direction that I will take. There is a clear and obvious choice. I think we can have a city that has the best of both worlds. The best symbol is saving old Massey Hall, preserving it, restoring it to its original grandeur, and letting a new one be built. That's what I stand for. We have the best set of rules for planning that exist anywhere, but within those rules things can happen, initiative can be rewarded. It's not wrong if someone makes a dollar. You don't have to tighten everything up until the city turns into a mausoleum.

We need jobs and we need investment. I am committed to those principles, and I will be committed to them if I am elected mayor. I think this is the greatest city in the world. I love living here. I wouldn't want to live anywhere else. I want to make it a better city, and that's why I'm running for mayor.

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

The third speaker of our trinity, Executive Alderman John Sewell.

MR. SEWELL:

Thank you, Mr. President. Head table guests, ladies and gentlemen: I am one of those very fortunate politicians who has had a chance to see some of the ideas that I've been talking about for ten years actually be implemented at City Hall. It is fortunate because that doesn't always happen in the political world. I got into politics somewhat by chance, as I watched a neighbourhood being demolished by the city. I thought that was too much. I wanted to stop it and make sure that City Hall did not take steps to demolish neighbourhoods.

That was Trefann Court. Nowadays you take it for granted that you don't demolish neighbourhoods, you save them. "Preserve neighbourhoods": that's a rubric we all use nowadays. Back in 1969 it was a difficult fight and it's interesting that we have come that distance in less than ten years. We have changed our thinking about what should happen with neighbourhoods.

It's the same with local planning. I remember in 1971, when we had a group of people in the south of Carlton area who wanted to have a planner working in their community to develop a plan that would suit their needs. They said, "It's our neighbourhood. We want to have a say in its future." But getting a local planning office in 1971 was really difficult. We had to have a big fight, with a lot of people down at City Hall, but we got it. Today we assume that everybody has a right to have a local planning office and a local planner to work with. We have come a long way and I am glad of it.

One looks at the Central Area Plan. I remember talking in 1972, before Mr. Crombie was elected mayor, about the need to control the growth of office space downtown. I thought it was a big issue. We have come a long way. We now have a plan. It is not to everyone's liking, but it is a plan that goes a good distance towards solving the problem.

I remember fighting very hard in 1972 when, believe it or not, the city was going to tear down the South St. Lawrence Market to make a parking garage. That idea is unthinkable now, in 1978.

We saved the South St. Lawrence Market. We organized a large group of people who protested, we got City Hall to agree. We then moved on to the next building which was threatened, the old Massey Hall. Nowadays, it is unthinkable to tear down those buildings, but that wasn't so six years ago. We had a hard fight to keep individual buildings alive. I'm glad that we now believe that old buildings should be preserved.

Then, there is housing. When we were dealing with the Trefann Court area they wanted to build more public housing, almost an extension of Regent Park. In working with people in that area, I learned that they didn't want that. They wanted something different. They wanted the city to get involved in the housing business to ensure that adequate housing was available that people could afford. Now we've got it. The city is in the housing business. It started with the Dundas-Sherbourne project, where we attempted to save about twenty old buildings, nineteenth-century houses, from demolition. We were trying to stop the construction of a twenty-eight storey apartment building. We did both those things, and we got the city into the housing business. It was not a pleasant fight. We had to tear down some hoardings. But looking back on it, it was a fight that was really worth it. I'm glad I was part of it, because I am proud that the city is in the housing business. We're building good things, as anyone who goes to the South St. Lawrence Market can easily see.

Lastly, I am really glad about the process at City Hall. I remember the first three years that I spent on Council, how difficult it was for people to get information, to in fact be able to present their views to Council, or to set up bodies that would deal properly with the problems that people have. Look at the situation now. It has changed. We do have a process that people can respect. It is not a process that everyone always gets what he wants out of, but it is a process which is respected, and that's good. We cannot slip back from having open government at City Hall.

So I am fortunate, as a politician. I have seen those ideas implemented. I didn't do it on my own. Of course not. I did it with other people. That's the way you make change. It has been helped by some of the principles that I have had as a politician. First, you always do your homework. You make sure you know what you are speaking about. Second, you are clear where you stand, and you tell people where you stand. There's a cost to that. You can't be liked by everyone. But in the long run it pays off if politicians say, "Here's where I stand, and here's why." Third, I've tried to be fair. That's important, and it's not always easy. There are competing interests. It's always difficult to weigh them. But if one is fair, people respect the decision that you make.

Those are the three principles that I have lived with as a politician. I'm proud of them. I think they have served me well.

What's coming at us? I want to talk about three issues that are coming at the City of Toronto, no matter who is mayor. I'll be brief about them. They are not the only issues, but I think they are important. They are not simple issues. In fact you find, when you get down to it, that they are clusters of issues and they raise many questions. But let me talk about them very briefly.

First, the T.T.C. We have one of the best transit systems in North America, and it is going downhill very quickly. The deficit is rising at a staggering rate, fares are increasing, service is decreasing. We must turn the T.T.C. around. We have no choice. It is not going to be easy. I know. I have been fighting for two or three years to try to get some new principles adopted at the T.T.C. so that we can stabilize fares, stabilize service and start to plot some new directions. We cannot be like every other American city which has lost its transit system and has to spend a lot of money to get it going again. We can't afford that. It shouldn't be in the game plan. We must turn the T.T.C. around.

In my opinion, the mayor of Toronto is going to play a leading role in this, since the T.T.C. is so crucial to the city.

The second issue is a big one: property tax reform. The province and most of us recognize that the present property tax system is inequitable. Some people are paying more than their fair share; others are paying less. We have to reform the system. The problem is that the propositions advanced by the provincial government do not meet the needs of the people in Toronto. We find, for instance, in the latest proposals of the provincial government, that taxes on houses will go up an average of $150, that taxes on apartments will go down but the tenants will not benefit, taxes for large retailers will go down but they will go up for small businessmen. That's no reform! We have to work out a new system of property tax that serves our needs.

The mayor is going to play a leading role in that. He is going to have to define the exact problems and start defining the options that are available, and lead a major public debate to ensure that we come to some resolution that we can all live with in reforming the property tax system. I would like to be a part of that because I have done a fair amount of work on the system and have advanced a number of propositions as to what that reform should look like.

The third question is housing. Not too many of us think about it very much. The city is providing some housing, but we have some problems coming at us. The first one is that the federal government appears to be pulling the rug out from the city's housing program. We have to re-establish that rug. That will be a big fight. It is not easy to deal with Ottawa, as most of us know.

But there are other areas that we also have to deal with. My figures tell me that less than ten per cent of the households in Metro have incomes that allow them to buy a home. It is a very strange market when ninety per cent of the people can't play the game. I'd like to change that. I'd like to figure out how we can reduce the cost of housing.

There are a number of suggestions and we could probably debate them. Some of them look good on paper, but don't work in reality. Some of them work well in reality but look pretty horrendous on paper. But we must deal with the problem, for we simply haven't done well enough, as a large metropolitan area, when we find that only ten per cent of the population can afford to buy a house. That is a serious debate. It is not an easy one. But it is one that we have to get into if we want to keep this city a city that we can be proud of.

There are three issues. They are big ones and they are coming at us: the T.T.C., property tax reform and housing. They are not all of the issues, but they are a start.

The mayor cannot solve those issues on his own. We can only solve them as a city. The mayor can provide some leadership in helping to define how we might find solutions and in helping to ensure that there is a wide-ranging public debate.

As mayor, I think I could help in that debate. Thank you very much.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Charles C. Hoffman, Second Vice-President of The Empire Club of Canada.

OCTOBER 19, 1978

Canada, the Crown and Chauvinism

AN ADDRESS BY Laura Sabia,
Journalist

JOINT MEETING The Empire Club of Canada
The Royal Commonwealth Society

CHAIRMAN Reginald W. Lewis, President,
The Empire Club of Canada

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Ladies and gentlemen: Our speaker today will be introduced by the Chairman of the Royal Commonwealth Society, Major-General Bruce Legge.

GENERAL LEGGE:

Mr. President, distinguished guests, fellow members of The Empire Club of Canada and the Royal Commonwealth Society: Nicolas Chauvin De Rochefort was a veteran soldier of the French Republic and of the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte. His patriotism was so voluble that it was ultimately ridiculed by his comrades. Laura Sabia's subject, "Canada, the Crown and Chauvinism", is most profound because all three ideas come from the same root – from Nicolas Chauvin who loved his country so much that he served it without fear. He was then so mesmerized by Napoleon, the Emperor of the French, not the King of France, that he followed him without counting the cost. Chauvin therefore gave his name to all that is bellicose, exaggerated and puffed-up in loyalties.

In Canada, to love the Queen of Canada and our country is in a sense to love what is best in all of us because each of us is a part of Canada. To carry patriotism to the edge of chauvinism is to abandon the discipline of thought, which is the only safeguard against self-seeking patriotism.

Canada seems to be one of the few countries in the world that lacks exaggerated nationalism. But we also have our cynicisms, such as "John Kenneth Galbraith and Marshall McLuhan are the two greatest modern Canadians that the United States has produced," or H.L. Mencken's quip, "Democracy is a form of religion. It is the worship of jackals by jackasses."

Laura Sabia is a creative and artistic person who is a devoted mother and the widow of Dr. Michael Sabia, a most respected surgeon in St. Catharines. One of her daughters and her son-in-law are lawyers who provide her with free legal advice which she freely ignores because "all professions are a conspiracy against the laity."

Mrs. Sabia was convent-educated in Montreal, and is a fearless social critic whose biting wit reveals our weaknesses. She organized public pressure on the Royal Commission on the Status of Women and herself chaired the Ontario Council on the Status of Women. She is an orator who intimidates cabinets with her outrageous wit. She is a brilliant writer for *The Toronto Sun* who brings much light and laser-beam heat to wrong-doing in high places. She is infuriated by the prosecution of Peter Worthington and incensed by the fact that "only the weakest of men are frightened by feminism." And no wonder, when she can expose hypocrisy and prejudice with her famous phrase – "If men could get pregnant, abortion would be a sacrament."

Ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in presenting to you Mrs. Laura Sabia, a great and fascinating Canadian. If you will forgive the chauvinism, Mrs. Sabia, Edmund Burke said it: "All that is necessary for evil to triumph is for good men to do nothing." You are in Burke's noble company and I invite you to address these Loyal Societies about "Canada, the Crown and Chauvinism."

MRS. SABIA:

Thank you very much. Never have I been introduced with such beautiful phraseology – absolutely gorgeous, and to think it was a man!

I deem it a privilege and an honour to be addressing this very prestigious last bastion of the captains of the corporate and professional and intellectual élite, and an honour to be asked to fill the shoes of the late John Rhodes, politician extraordinary, outspoken, humane, urbane, unafraid of unpopular stands in a country where vote-buying by politicians is a national pastime, a guy after my own heart. I knew him well and I loved him dearly.

To speak to this august body today, I have been given some very profound advice by my children: "Clean up your language, Mother. No dirty jokes. Let us read the draught of your speech for corrections. Act your age, Mother. You know you're sixty now. Think of us!"

Speaking of sexy jokes, I am reminded of a delightful episode just a few years back in the height and the tumult of the women's movement. I had made a speech in Vancouver on female sexuality, which I might say was salaciously reported in the press. Every last one of those cross-your-crotch jock jokes was there. The week after I returned, I received a hand-written letter from a woman who admitted to being eighty-five. She commented on my courage to say the shocking, and then proceeded to shock me out of my cross-my-heart bra. "In my day," she wrote, "women were receptacles for male sperm," etc. etc. (My children are here, so I can't tell you any more!) She ended her delightful letter by saying, "For eighty long years I have been going to church each Sunday, and I'm sick and tired of hearing that old worn-out refrain, 'In sin did thy mother conceive thee.' Where the hell was father? Fishing or hunting?"

Enough of this nonsense. Let us get down to the serious matters of the day. My subject, as has been said, is "Canada, the Crown and Chauvinism." I'm going to define "chauvinism" in the same way as our good friend has just defined it quite rightly. It's interesting how the use and abuse of a word can change its meaning. Now we talk about men being chauvinists because they are puffed up with their own importance. The male of the species always has been. The women's movement merely added the pig.

Let's go on with the title. What a mess we are in, in this country. As Alice in Wonderland would say, it's getting curiouser

Laura Sabia, and General Sir Neil Ritchie, Honorary Life Chairman of the Royal Commonwealth Society

and curiouser. How did we get here from there? We are now divided regionally, linguistically, ethnically, Canadian pitted against Canadian, resentment piled upon resentment.

I love this piece of geography called Canada. I'm a chauvinist. I love my country dearly, deeply and passionately. But who is a Canadian now? Are there any Canadians in this house? Not bloody likely. We've all become hyphenated Canadians, French-Canadians, English-Canadians, Irish-Canadians, Polish-Canadians, Greek-Canadians. Oh, oh – we can't use Polish jokes anymore. We have a Pope that's a Pole.

We have become hyphenated. We weren't always hyphenated, but we now are, on and on into the nightmare of divisiveness.

I was born and bred in this amazing land. I've always considered myself a Canadian, nothing more, nothing less, even though my parents were immigrants from Italy. How come that over the past ten or fifteen years we have all acquired a hyphen? We have allowed ourselves to become divided along the lines of ethnic origins, under the pretext of the "Great Mosaic." A dastardly deed has been perpetrated upon Canadians by politicians whose motto is "divide and rule." I, for one, refuse to be hyphenated. I am a Canadian, first and foremost. Don't hyphenate me.

We will not have a great nation until we forget ethnicity and become Canadians. Multiculturalism has divided us and perhaps assimilation will have to unite us. The "Bi and Bi" commission of the sixties started us on the infamous road to hyphenation. How can you build a nation on divisiveness?

Then came the Official Languages Act. I can remember how much I was opposed to it. I had a radio program at the time and I fought against it, only to have everybody calling me every name under the sun. That Official Languages Act, passed in 1969, sealed our fate forever. The die was cast. It sowed the seeds of bigotry and hatred. It divided us all. Then to add salt to the wounds, it cost us a walloping wad of money we couldn't afford.

Our present Prime Minister, speaking to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1966 (mark the date) said: "There is no way that two ethnic groups in one country can be made equal before the law in that country. To say it is possible is to sow the seeds of destruction." And yet, three short years after, in 1969, he did the very thing he said in 1966 could not be done. We have been going downhill ever since. Complacent, lethargic Canadians, under the spell of flower power. We are afraid of being labelled racial bigots and so we have allowed ourselves to be conned, manipulated and divided. We are now paying the piper, in spades.

We have spent nearly two billion dollars to make this country bilingual, only to pronounce it a total failure and an utter disaster. Quebec renounced bilingualism and went unilingual in a valiant attempt to protect its language and culture. Why not Quebec French? Why not the rest of Canada English? Why can't we build a nation on that basis? Only James Richardson of all the politicians had the courage to say, "Yes, we have one regional language in Quebec, and let's respect it. And we have one official language in the rest of Canada." I'm a firm believer in learning a second and a third language. I speak three of them. It's a culture devoutly to be fostered. I am bilingual. French was my first tongue. I also speak Italian. But you cannot legislate bilingualism. You can only foster it effectively through the educational system, slowly. It may take twenty-five years, but that's the way to go.

Belgium is a prime example of division through language. The war of words between the Flemish and Walloons is well known, the hatred and divisiveness has been talked about for over a hundred years. This week the Prime Minister of Belgium resigned over a vain attempt to divide the country into linguistic regions.

Quebec does not want language rights entrenched in the Constitution. Quebec wants to remain unilingual, and I can understand that. The victory of the Parti Québécois in 1976 was not the first time in our history that a nationalist party, dedicated to unilingualism and the liberation of French Canada, gained power in Quebec. Of course it wasn't. Anyone who reads Canadian history will know that in 1830 we had the Parti Patriot under Louis Joseph Papineau. Fifty years later in 1880 we had the Parti Nationale, led by Honoré Mercier. Again in 1930, we had the Union Nationale, with Maurice Duplessis, even though the "chef" didn't preach secession. He was satisfied with absolute provincial autonomy. Tell me what's the difference.

Sovereignty association is not new. And it isn't scary at all. It's over a hundred and fifty years old. It just keeps renewing and repeating itself under different names.

Despite the protestations of Davis, Lougheed and other provincial premiers that they won't negotiate sovereignty association (and I have some sympathy with them) they may have to negotiate after the referendum in Quebec. A poll published in *Dimanche Matin* by L'Institut Québécois d'opinion publique showed that 38 per cent of Quebeckers would give the government a mandate to negotiate sovereignty association, and 36 per cent would not. You can bet your bottom worthless dollar that the 38 per cent will be substantially increased by referendum day. Business is business. Quebec, Ontario and the rest of the economic suburbs will have to continue to trade, and we can build a nation again on that trade.

Shades of Stanfield's "Two Nation" concept of 1968. Stanfield was a man ahead of his time. He was not listened to, and we are paying for that now. Words come back to haunt us. Think of the billions we would have saved! But one thing is certain. Appeasement must stop. We have had too much of it. Hard bargaining always, but appeasement, never.

Are Canadians so stupid that we cannot learn from history? The history of Europe is filled with tragic examples of appeasement. The politics of blackmail can't be met with appeasement. We appeased Quebec with the flag, with the Bilingual and Bicultural Commission, with the Official Languages Act. We appeased them when we discarded the word "Dominion" – a perfectly good English word. Few of us looked it up in the dictionary. We thought it smacked of domination, when in fact it means sovereign or supreme authority. And what is wrong with that? Autonomous communities, equal in status, and in no way subordinate one to another, united by a common allegiance to the Crown. The *Crown* – that's the rub. And so like immature and insecure children we cried, "Out with the Crown! Down with the Queen!" Appeasement again, and again.

We beat our breasts and intoned "Mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa," when the problem in Quebec was of their own making. Like ostriches, we put our heads in the sand and hoped the problems would go away somehow. Complacent Canadians, we think we can save Confederation by spending vast sums of money and forever appease our mass delusions.

Are we losing the will to survive? Obtuse English-Canadians, we were once called by our Prime Minister. We're not obtuse. We're in one hell of an economic mess and we know it, plus the threat to national unity. Right the first and the second will fall into place. We're over our heads in debt and living on credit. We have the worst labour relations in the western world and the dollar is in the bottomless pit. While inflation gallops to two digits and massive unemployment cripples the economy, while colossal mismanagement by those crazies in Ottawa sinks us into astronomical debt, while blatant corruption becomes a sick joke in this country, we have been seduced into thinking that a new constitution will right the wrongs. Gullible Canadians belly up at the call of the Pied Piper. We passively watch the erosion of our individual liberties, placidly accept a secret trial. The secret trial in Montreal is something that should have made every Canadian rise up in anger. Not one did except Pierre Berton.

We accept dictatorial powers, tapping, bugging, arrogant refusal of freedom of information. Yet let that human zoo on the Rideau wave the constitutional flag and cry, "Dump the Senate! Scrap the Queen! Stuff the Supreme Court!" and we wallow and swallow all that political swill. It's constitutional rape. You know it and I know it, and what are we going to do about it?

Reform the Senate, don't dump it. Successive Prime Ministers have used the Senate as a retirement home for political hacks, tired politicians and money baggers. (I apologize to any Senator who may be here. If he is, he's not one of them!) Under the B.N.A. Act, the Senate was envisioned as a house of sober second thought. It has become a house of Frankenstein, with indexed pensions.

Scrap the Queen, indeed! We need the monarchy more now than we have ever done before. I, for one, want the Queen and not a political appointee as Head of State. She is above the political fray and the machinations of discredited political Judas Iscariots. She is a symbol of statehood. She is responsible, disciplined, gracious – virtues we would do well to emulate. Our Prime Minister finally got the message that he did not have the mandate nor the approval of the people of Canada to tamper with the Queen's place in Confederation. The Speech from the Throne last week went out of its way to assure us that the Queen was safe – for *now*, anyway. After an election, God only knows.

Eternal vigilance is the price we pay in democracy. Senator Eugene Forsey, one of the "good guys" in that Senate, made this comment: "The Prime Minister's constitutional proposals are subversive and an outrage against responsible government." Let's put that in our pipe and smoke it for a while.

The B.N.A. Act stipulates that changes in the Constitution must have the approval of provincial governments. The Prime Minister is not the sole arbiter on constitutional issues. He has no mandate to tell the premiers to stay out of the constitutional debate.

I have read the B.N.A. Act. It has served Canada well for over a hundred years and can do so for another hundred. Of course the Constitution should be brought home, but remember that it is Quebec that has consistently negated patriation, that has always insisted that it not be brought to Canada. But let's be suspicious of any radical change. And as for entrenching language rights in the Constitution, that would be an unmitigated disaster. If you think we are divided now, just wait till then. I am all for human rights and freedoms in the Constitution, although hopefully it won't be like the hypocrisy of the United Nations, where some members deny every human right to their citizens while ascribing to the U.N. code.

"Bilingualism is not the glue that will make this country stick together," said one Joe Clark not so long ago. (He's no longer Joe Who? He is Joe When.) An empty belly and no prospects of a job will never be cured by entrenching language rights in the Constitution. Sometimes I think constitutions are for the birds, or for idiots. Britain has never had a constitution and it has survived exceedingly well.

What is needed in Canada is statesmanlike leadership, courageous leadership to control the economy, to balance the budget, to pay off the horrendous debts, to stop the money printing presses, to call a halt to the spending spree and the indexed pensions. Our dollar has lost its credibility. We settled for a socialized welfare bureaucracy that we couldn't afford, and financed it by massive inflation. It now threatens to bury us. Our unemployment insurance to the tune of four billion dollars has become insurance plus welfare. The whole welfare system, shoved down the throats of the provinces in the years gone by is now such a hodge-podge of inefficient and inequitable payments that it should be completely scrapped and sensibly reorganized. My services are always available.

We desperately need leadership with the starched spine to tell us the sad economic facts, that we have borrowed to the hilt and printed money to pay for the borrowing, and that we cannot go on consuming more than we produce, that we cannot pile debt upon debt to pay for political giveaways, that government mismanagement and waste is at an end.

What a hot torrid story the Auditor General's report would make. I often wonder whether I should write a book on it. The title would be *Sin, Scandal and Skin on the Rideau.*

Changes in the Constitution can wait until the greater problem of the economy is solved, and until Quebeckers decide what *they* want. The present Constitution is adequate until there is a consensus in Quebec and in the rest of Canada for a change.

Canadians have been apathetic for so long, but they are slowly waking up. Their pocket books are now involved. Their standard of living is threatened. Their Queen, who they have always loved, now finds herself mimicked and sometimes insulted. Many ordinary folk admire her courage and dedication. She doesn't stoop to boorish antics or vulgar body language. These people are asking themselves, why should they give up their cherished traditions? They don't want a republic, nor do they trust a politically-appointed Governor General.

There is a grass-roots swell of response to government excesses: devalued currency and enforced bilingualism. The adrenalin is flowing in the people. They are concerned, they are afraid, they are uneasy. They are speaking their mind. I saw some buttons saying, "The national debt is a disgrace." Canadians want their country to stop borrowing and pay its debts. They know instinctively, even though they are not economists, that capital follows confidence. The poor perplexed long-suffering taxpayer is being bled to death by the bureaucrats with fat salaries and indexed pensions and he knows it. He is howling in anger. It's the beginning of change.

Will Ottawa have ears to hear, hearts to understand, and the intestinal fortitude to change? Will they have the good sense to put constitutional reform on the back burner until our greater problems of the economy are solved? Our dollar is impoverishing us all. Will the government have the vision to stop meddling in the private sector, buying up efficient and profitable operations and running them into the ground? And that's all paid for by you and me. It's an ode to idiocy, to federal stupidity. Have they learned their lesson? Only God and Pierre know for sure.

I am an unashamed, unabashed chauvinist, a demonstrative patriot. I'm a monarchist and proud of it. I make no apologies. My father was an immigrant who pulled himself up by the bootstraps, from shovel and wheelbarrow to bulldozer and crane. He incessantly extolled the wonders of a country that had given him the opportunity to succeed. He passed that passionate love on to his children. When, as children, we came to him and told him that our French and English playmates were calling us names, he would say, "I'm the Wop. You're Canadians and don't forget it, and don't let anybody ever call you anything else." He would turn in his grave if he could see what Canadians are doing to Canadians today and to his beloved country.

But I am a cockeyed optimist with a rainbow round my shoulders, and I know that Canadians will land on their feet. This country will survive, God willing and Pierre leaving. Canadians must rededicate themselves to nation-building. Who will lead us out of the wilderness into the promised land?

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Mr. Joseph H. Potts, C.D., Q.C., a Past President of The Empire Club of Canada.

OCTOBER 26, 1978

The State of Canadian Capitalism: A Political View

AN ADDRESS BY Stephen Lewis,
Member of the Ontario Legislature
for Scarborough West

CHAIRMAN Reginald W. Lewis,
President

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Ladies and Gentlemen: This club has long been exposed to the firm of Legge and Legge, but just for today you have Lewis and Lewis.

It has been said of today's guest speaker that he "took his politics with his pablum." And it is a reality that he has spent his life near or in politics. As a child he sat on the lap of J.S. Woodsworth, the founder of the C.C.F. Difficult as it is to imagine a tremulous Stephen Lewis, a Canadian magazine article has it that "a tremulous Stephen would play the piano for the polite attention of Stanley Knowles, Tommy Douglas and Mr. Woodsworth." Surely the last time, polite or otherwise, our guest speaker had to strive for attention. At high school, Stephen Lewis was described by his fellow students as "politicized."

At university, he honed his debating skills against such greats as John F. Kennedy and Lester B. Pearson. After his stay at the University of Toronto, he spent two years in Africa travelling and teaching. He then began his life as an elected politician. This was in 1963, when at age twenty-five, he was elected to the Ontario Legislature by the electorate of Scarborough West.

In 1970 he became leader of the Ontario New Democratic Party, and in 1975 Stephen Lewis achieved a historical mile-stone when his party became the Official Opposition in the Ontario Legislature.

Following the 1977 provincial election, our speaker said he would step down as party leader and this he did last February.

There are perhaps many in this room who are not enamoured with Mr. Lewis's political views but I imagine there is not one here who does not admire Stephen Lewis for having the courage of his convictions and for his ability to articulate those beliefs in both the cut and thrust of the political arena and in the relative calm of the TV or radio interview. Mr. Lewis's convictions are expressed by a mastery of the language, in both the spoken and written word, that is beautifully eloquent.

Those convictions are also backed by good sense, decency and hard work and this latter point is attested to by a Father's Day article written by daughter Ilana Lewis in which she states: "Even when we went to the cottage, you could be sure that Dad would have at least two big boxes of working papers with him. It was a family joke to ban all brief-cases from the cottage."

Mr. Lewis has described himself as a politician who remains attached to politics. He is also a literary critic, newspaper columnist, TV commentator, radio talk-show host, and is today's speaker at the Empire Club.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured now to present to you Mr. Stephen Lewis, Member of the Ontario Legislature for Scarborough West, who will speak to us on "The State of Canadian Capitalism: A Political View."

MR. LEWIS:

Mr. Chairman, and friends: I have not received, in some years, so remarkably amiable an introduction. Would that within the fraternity of the New Democratic Party I was thus treated.

It is fifteen years, one month and one day since I was elected to the Legislature of Ontario, and I finally feel as though I have reached the pinnacle of my career, the veritable peak of my ambition. I have made it to the Empire Club. Ever since I was a child of two, reading Marx on my Daddy's knee, I

Stephen Lewis, Member of the Ontario Legislature
for Scarborough West

have dreamed of this day. As a matter of fact, this is almost akin to entering the kingdom of heaven. Mind you, I notice that I had to be safely out of the leadership before you could bring yourselves to such a gift of generosity and compassion.

Remarkable – the changing times! Once upon a time, you burned heretics at the stake. Now you invite them to lunch. I am following in the immediate wake, I gather, of Claude Ryan, John Sewell and Laura Sabia. My knees are trembling with the splendour of it all, but I shall attempt to cope.

It is no secret that I am approaching the end of my political career. I have a certain keen sense of liberation, these days. I'm not quite so inhibited by the protocols as I once was. I hope, therefore, that you will forgive me if I stray slightly from the topic, although I will stay within the context of Canadian capitalism and the way it works. But events in Canada in the last several days have been so tumultuous that I want to say something about them. It is not a total digression.

I want to reflect on three separate, but related, subjects, and I think what the Chairman said was accurate. Some of my views will undoubtedly offend. Some of my views will undoubtedly jar with those held by the majority in this room. But I state them with heart and feeling, equivalent in that sense at least to the depth of your own convictions.

The desperate problems within the public sector is the first subject that I want to deal with, to give a sense of how some of us (however small that minority may be) feel about Canadian society today. We are experiencing a sick – I don't know how else to describe it – and unhappy collapse in labour relations. In all my years politically, I have never seen anything like it. Clifford Pilkey can probably attest to that as well. We have seen battles in the Province of Ontario over the use of the *ex parte* injunction. I can remember the legislative halls fairly shaking over the question of the Hospital Disputes Arbitration Act in the mid-sixties. I know how many and infinite battles there have been around the rights of trade unions to seek certification. But for what is happening now, in the postal service, I cannot recall an equal.*

And what's more, the situation deteriorates, systematically, wretchedly. What is happening erodes public confidence in the public bargaining system. Every time you think you've hit the absolute nadir, another abyss yawns before you. And I don't

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**Editor's Note*: In order to better understand some of the concerns expressed by Mr. Lewis, the reader should be reminded that the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (C.U.P.W.) had been on strike since October 10, 1978 and returned to work on October 26, 1978. Nine union executives were charged under the Criminal Code for defying the Government's back-to-work order which became law on October 19, 1978.

think it will improve just because the government decides to jail a number of trade unionists.

Let me provide a personal context. I'm a working politician. I help to make the laws. I believe in the rule of law. I have said, and I notice that my federal leader said, "The laws, when they are passed, must be obeyed, must be observed." We disagreed with the leaders of C.U.P.W. On the question of refusing to observe the law of Parliament, there is no debate.

Dennis McDermott, and this is characteristic of Dennis McDermott whose leadership of the trade union movement gives some of us immense pride, said of the behaviour and the approach of C.U.P.W. that the indictments which would flow "are a natural consequence of the government's reaction to defiance of the law. Anyone who takes that on expects such action."

I suspect that the leaders of the postal union, having their eyes open when they decided to defy the law and not return to work, knew what to expect. But if I don't jar too strongly, I want to say to you that that is not really the issue. Whether or not they engaged in civil disobedience is not the issue. That's the aftermath. And whether or not they are raided, or fined, or jailed or hanged or quartered in a public square, to satisfy whatever blood lust, is not the issue. It's the consequence. And if I can utter the greatest heresy of all – whether or not the mail gets delivered, however much you and I and all of us desperately want it to be delivered – that is still not the underlying issue.

The issue, the question, which I deeply feel that reasonable Canadians should be asking themselves no matter what their political view, no matter what their background, socio-economic and otherwise, the question is what makes 23,000 decent, ordinary, uncomplicated working people in Canada so sullen, so bitter, so defiant? If we don't understand that issue, if we don't answer that question, then we are going to face the whole business again, as sure as I'm standing here – three months hence, six months hence, or a year from now. It doesn't take the wisdom of Solomon to understand that. If the Post Office becomes a crown corporation it will be akin to another crown corporation called Air Canada on the eve of a pilot's strike. You don't resolve things the way they are now trying to resolve them.

I don't know how many postal workers you know. I'm not familiar with the exotic and eccentric lives which some of you may lead. But I know postal workers. They have been on my riding executive. I've knocked on doors with them. I've eaten at their homes. These are not people who are malicious or subversive, or who are foreign agents. These are Canadians, people whom one encounters every day of the week. I know that Senator David Walker and Senator Raymond Perrault said yesterday that we should take a careful look to see how many Communists there were among the postal workers, manipulating things. (This seems to me to be a pretty strong argument for reform of the Senate!) Apart from the absurdity of that kind of stuff, it is crazy to focus so much passion on this group of working people without trying to understand what it is that drives them to extremity. Because they are working people, like endless tens of thousands of others, right across the country.

I think that what the federal government has failed to grasp is a pretty central truth about collective bargaining, which I have always thought was absolutely elemental. Forgive me if it sounds too simplistic. Labour relations are *human* relations, and if you don't understand that and respect it, then it's downhill all the way in any collective bargaining relationship.

That's what has been happening in this country in the area of the post office. It continues to happen. There has been the most gross and extraordinary mishandling over the years and right up to the present moment. There have been report after report, document after document, telling about the intolerable conditions in the Post Office, and how postal workers felt, through the fifties, sixties and early seventies. Did anyone ever attempt to accommodate those feelings? Why were the resentments allowed to pile, one upon the other, until the explosions were predictable?

Unions are, admittedly, imperfect social institutions. Sometimes union leaders make inappropriate demands. But what do you do with a social institution called a government and a Post Office management whose position is forever and uniformly intractable? One is supposed to expect fair play from a government, even if institutional forms are imperfect. What do you do when the grievances of working people pile up by the hundreds and the thousands? Eighty per cent of those that go to arbitration are resolved in favour of the union, but the pattern on the part of the management doesn't change.

What do you do for working people when they go eighteen months without a contract? Most of us lead relatively satisfied lives. I have a decent job and get my contract renewed if the electorate is kind enough to elect me. Most people in this room have their contracts renewed fairly regularly without having to go through eighteen months of the most harrowing effort.

What do you do with a government which gives a right to strike in legislation and then takes it away the moment the right is exercised? There are probably a great many people here who feel that the right to strike in essential services is wrong. Fair enough. Although I may disagree, that is a legitimate position. If the government believes it, let it have the courage to say so. But to grant the right to strike, with all the rhetorical excitement that surrounded it, and then to take it away on the day it is exercised in a dispute is a provocative act.

What do you do when a government passes a law that says working people must go back to work if they are out on strike, and you set the terms and penalties in the law? Then, you don't rely on the law you have just passed, but you invoke another law called the Public Service Act, and you exhume some remote clause about "having been seen to abandon the job," a clause which was never in the world intended to deal with a situation like this. It was, as a matter of fact, intended to deal with absenteeism.

Then the Postmaster General announces his intention to impose a double jeopardy: one, the possibility of a criminal offence; the other, the loss of a job. And where does he do it? Before Parliament? Oh, no. Before a Toronto luncheon of an advertising and sales club. Do you think that's fair? Do you think that is the balanced and rational behaviour of a government that is trying to seek an accommodation with working people? Does that show the honour of Parliament, of the political process?

What do you do in a situation where you suddenly call in the R.C.M.P. and raid a number of union offices across the country? Is it not possible to use the local constabulary? I'm as pleased as everybody else that the R.C.M.P. found something to do. As a matter of fact, they had warrants. It was even legal. And that's also a pleasing change. But it seems to me that what you are doing is infusing into the body politic a kind of anxiety, an anger, which is entirely unnecessary.

What do you do with a government that appoints a one-man tribunal? I'm sure the former Chief Justice of the Quebec Court of Appeal is a learned and knowledgeable man. But he has no expertise at all in labour relations. And this is one of the most complicated labour disputes going. What does that say to working people? It says that the negotiation process over the next three months will amount to almost nothing, and that what you really have to resign yourselves to is an imposed settlement at the end of ninety days.

May I be so bold as to say that there is Judge Gold, and Carl Goldenberg, and dare I mention David Lewis, and others, who are bilingual, who can handle situations like this, who can win confidence from all sides. Why do things which seem to perpetuate the manifest hostilities that stretch back from the beginning to the present day?

Now I know that this will salve the punitive instincts of some. But I want to ask you a question. How does the systematic humiliation of postal workers build trust for the future? Will someone explain that to me? How does it happen? You see, either we have a permanent peace in the Post Office or we have permanent poison. It's not difficult. That's the essential choice. For the moment, the government is approaching it in terms of permanent poison, and it's slowly killing the Post Office. Unless there's a change, the crown corporation will be dead before it's born.

I want to make three concrete suggestions, because I don't want to speak in a purely critical way. I want to make suggestions which would help, even now, to rescue the situation.

Number one: there should not be a one-man tribunal in a situation like this. It should be a three-man tribunal. It should have a judge as the centre-piece, and someone to represent the workers and someone to represent the management. That would give everyone the sense that fair play is being brought to bear, even at the eleventh hour. And number two: either the tribunal itself, or some separately appointed person (mediator, conciliator, negotiator), must be there on a continuing basis, working hour by hour, day in and day out to work out the relationships, the contract, the grievances, to build some kind of a bridge of trust over a continuing period of time – one year, two years, three years. That would allow things to be cooled over time, and to be worked at. Why do we lurch from chaos to anarchy and back again without ever using the legitimate common sense which some frail mortals possess?

And finally, when are we going to change the character of collective bargaining in the public sector? You know what we have done, even better than I do. We have taken the adversary bargaining relationships of the private sector and we have imposed them holus-bolus on the public sector and it doesn't work! It may work for the steel workers and Stelco. It may work for the auto workers and General Motors. But it doesn't work for the bus drivers and the Toronto Transportation Commission, and it doesn't work for the postal workers and the Post Office.

Public sector requirements demand a sensitivity, an appreciation of the bargaining process, a sense of where the money comes from, some knowledge that the demands cannot be too high and the offers cannot be too low. The charade which is characteristic and entirely understood in the private sector offers nothing but pitfalls in the public sector. Down the present road lies irrevocable chaos.

I want to say – and I say it with regret and it reveals my partisanship although I have little apology for that – that the events of the last several days, weeks, even months, have very, very little to do with any effort to preserve the rule of law. They have a very great deal to do with efforts to preserve the federal Liberal government. And that is dreadful in its consequences, for Canada and for working people.

Having said that, I want to move to the second point. Not only do we see at the moment a government misunderstanding the nature of bargaining in the public sector, but also misunderstanding the nature of the economy. And that too is calamitous for everyone.

I learned a long time ago that these things never work in fragments. They are always inter-related. The assumptions which lead you into difficulty in one area inevitably lead you into difficulty in others.

I don't want to get into a discussion of the economy by way of comparing party platforms and programs. I am an advocate for one particular set of views. They are as fragile and in places as indefensible as other sets of views, but that's not what is at stake. What I want to raise with you is an inherent question of philosophic difference.

There is a tendency today, in this country, in this province, both in analysis and approach, to make an absolute separation between the private sector and the public sector. It is fashionable, it is chic, it is trendy to clobber the public sector, to attribute to it all of the ills of society, and conversely to romanticize the private sector, to see the private sector capable of satisfying every need and every grievance, with all of the solutions lying within its prerogative.

There was a fascinating little occurrence on Tuesday in the Legislature. Frank Miller, the new Provincial Treasurer, got up and made his first major statement to the House. One couldn't help but smile. He affirmed, touchingly, that he was an economic conservative. He talked, feelingly, of profit and free enterprise. Some of you will love those words and some of you will love Mr. Miller. I find him quite huggable myself, if I can put it that way. There is an inordinate affection that flows from that man to those around him. But there was something amazingly quaint and antiquarian about what he said. In fact, Frank Miller may live his entire life and never quite find his way into the twentieth century. Others have said equally friendly though disparaging things about me. But even some of the old economic fundamentalists would blush at the sweet innocence with which Frank talks about free enterprise and profit and the private sector – even Adam Smith wouldn't be caught alive with Frank Miller. This is a mixed economy. It's profoundly interdependent, and by establishing such rigid and separate compartments we're simply compounding the economic malaise.

The corporations understand that. They know the meaning of free enterprise today and they don't hesitate to use it. Ford Motor Company understands it when it says to the government of Ontario and Canada, "Give us $68 million to locate a plant in Windsor." The Reed Paper Company understands it, and Inco does, when they say to the government of Ontario "We want certain environmental concessions in order to fortify the balance sheets." Falconbridge understands it when it takes money from the federal government to invest in the Third World.

You don't have to be an Allan Blakeney socialist to know how the system works, although I want to point out to you that his particular mixture of public and private enterprise in Saskatchewan is working remarkably well. You don't have to be an Ed Broadbent to know that the private sector will never reach productive capacity and that it must have government help and intervention. Even the Economic Council of Canada now advocates two billion dollars' worth of tax cuts, regardless of the consequences to the deficit, as a way of stimulating the economy. They understand the interdependence.

But many of our federal politicians, and some of our provincial politicians, with a great deal of persuasion and charm, talk about the public sector as though it was some kind of irrelevant abstraction, while all of mankind's hopes lie with the private sector.

It is a common mythology. It is gaining credibility.

There was a quite remarkable article by Robert Heilbrunner (who is hardly a flaming radical) in an issue of *New Yorker* a month or two ago, in which he analyses contemporary North American capitalism and points out as vividly as I have ever seen it stated the tremendous need for greater and greater regulatory and interventionist activity by the state – not through malevolence, or authoritarianism – but simply because for reasons of resource scarcity and environmental consideration and the desperate need for economic planning on a global scale, there is no escaping it. And there is nothing to be gained by making the differentiations so starkly. This kind of separation will not mean the end of unemployment. The kinds of things the federal government is saying, and that Frank Miller is saying provincially, will not drive down inflation or support the falling dollar, or even ultimately be the saviour of the private sector. Until we begin to understand the fact that we live in a mixed economy, that the public sector has a role to play, and that it is absurd to deprecate it just because it is fashionable, ours will be an economy in enormous trouble.

But at least Frank Miller is unabashedly open and straightforward – and this brings me to the final point I want to make. I am personally terribly distressed by the public cynicism about politics and politicians. That cynicism is unnerving. It is at times almost pathological. I have always enjoyed being a politician. As a matter of fact, I have always been proud to be a politician. I think it is an honourable profession to pursue. And if politicians always keep their eyes on the human consequences of the changes they effect, politics can be an extraordinary way of changing the human condition for the better.

I don't know how else you measure political behaviour, or legislative behaviour. You must sit down with every single act and piece of legislation and every government initiative and ask, "What are the human consequences of passage or denial?" When you resolve it in your own mind, when you see that it is beneficial, it becomes by that system of values supportable. And it makes of the whole process an immensely ennobling experience.

But having said that, because it is a *sine qua non* for me personally, I am prepared to admit that there is basis for public discontent in this country towards politicians and the process.

There is in the process so much flim-flam. There is so much double meaning, so much duplicity, so much and unnecessary secrecy. If one were to diagnose what is occurring and perhaps to prescribe something, I would suggest modestly that what the country needs more than anything else right now are the politics of candour.

I have never understood, not ever, why it is not possible for politicians to say publicly, "We don't know the answer." Just like that. I don't see why it is not possible for politicians to say with regularity, "We were wrong. We made a mistake." I have said that many times – because it was true. I've been wrong more often than I care to remember in political decisions. But wouldn't it be enormously refreshing if, at every level of political life, those who are in government, those who have effective authority and power, would admit that they were wrong to the people who elect them?

Why isn't it possible for politicians to say, "Here's the range of options, and from among them we've tried to pick a program which makes sense. And here is all the documentation which underlies it – here, in plain view." No more secrecy; no more conspiracy.

It should be possible for politicians to say, "These are our internal differences. I am Prime Minister, and I want you to know that my Minister of Justice disagrees with my Minister of Labour, and we are wrestling with the problem. Over time, we we hope we will resolve it." Is there anything so heinous about that? Is there anything objectionable about saying to the public that we have differences and that we are attempting a reconciliation? Admit that you are wrong. Admit that you don't know. Share the possible options. Admit to internal differences. And may I ask, above all, is it not possible, even once every five years or ten years, to admit a virtue, or a wisdom, or a point to the position of an adversary? Isn't it possible to civilize politics, rather than rendering the political arts forever combative?

I don't understand the obsession with obscurantism which exists in so much of political life. I don't know why it is not possible to pursue a much greater candour. However some people may denigrate the system, parliamentary democracy is a superb form of representative government. It's worth cherishing. It's worth revitalizing. It's worth opening up to the winds of forthright and absolutely straightforward political expression.

Whatever the differences, political or otherwise, in this hall, the blessed Imperial Room of the Royal York Hotel, surely on that defence of the parliamentary system we can all agree.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Terrence Tyers, a member of the Board of Directors of The Empire Club of Canada.

NOVEMBER 2, 1978

Trade with China

AN ADDRESS BY C. Calvert Knudsen,
PRESIDENT AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER,
MACMILLAN BLOEDEL LIMITED

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: MacMillan Bloedel is one of the forest products industry's largest firms and that industry is easily the country's most important in terms of numbers employed, total production and export earnings.

But it is not an easy industry. In its chief market, the United States, it is the first to get the axe when times are bad. It is an industry that is suffering from increased competition from the developing forests of South America and the southern states – forests where it is said that trees grow faster and the workers are more docile.

Our speaker today, Mr. C. Calvert Knudsen, joined MacMillan Bloedel as President and Chief Executive Officer just two years ago. The year before he joined the company it lost nearly $19 million. Readers of *The Globe and Mail* this week will have read that in the first nine months of this year, MacMillan Bloedel made a profit of nearly $73 million. No wonder *Executive Magazine* described MacMillan Bloedel's acquisition of our guest speaker as "a stroke of genius."

Mr. Knudsen is a lawyer by training. A native of Tacoma, Washington, he was educated in the law at the University of Washington and Columbia University. He practised law in Seattle, specializing in handling stocks and bond issues. Our speaker then became associated with the forest products industry and prior to joining MacMillan Bloedel he spent fifteen years in the top echelons of the business.

Since joining his present company, Mr. Knudsen has studied company priorities, and as a result he has effected management re-organization, he has reduced overhead costs, and he has taken all actions necessary to achieve his goals of improved overall efficiency and productivity. He aims to spend $600 million over the next five years in upgrading production facilities. Early last month specific details of $163 million newsprint expansion expenditure were announced by his company.

With such big achievements in such a short time, it might be expected that this would be our speaker's theme today, but this is not so. Mr. Knudsen has recently returned from a trade mission to China where he explored the possibilities of increasing trade with that country. Following from that visit, the subject of his address to us today is "Trade with China."

Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to introduce to you Mr. C. Calvert Knudsen.

MR. KNUDSEN:

Ladies and gentlemen: Thirteen years ago, in 1965, China quietly embarked upon an economic development program aimed at modernization, prosperity and military strength. To accomplish this, it was accepted by most of China's leaders that economic development would undoubtedly result in the growth of élite groups – a management élite, a military élite, a bureaucratic élite, and an intellectual élite. It would also tend to emphasize urban values over rural or agricultural values. Chairman Mao, however, refused to accept these possibilities. Instead he precipitated the cultural revolution that started in 1966 and did not really end until 1976, after his death.

During and after the cultural revolution, élitists – intellectuals, bureaucrats, students – were force-marched into the countryside to work side by side with peasant farmers as a means of re-emphasizing the merits of simple agricultural labour compared to more intellectual or urban pursuits. Students

C. Calvert Knudsen,
President and Chief
Executive Officer,
MacMillan Bloedel Limited

were selected on the basis of their proletarian background and political enthusiasm rather than scholastic aptitude.

For more than a decade, China focused itself inward to the near total exclusion of the rest of the world insofar as economic development and foreign trade were concerned. What little trade relations China had with the West, at least, were carried on through the twice-a-year Canton Trade Fair. There it purchased only those items it couldn't produce for itself and couldn't do without, and sold enough export goods to pay for its meagre purchases.

Now, however, only two years after the present régime came to power by deposing the so-called "Gang of Four" that ruled briefly after Mao's death, it is suddenly apparent that China has returned to its original course and is now firmly resolved upon the most comprehensive, ambitious economic development program ever proposed in the history of the world.

The objective of the program is to transform China from an agricultural nation to a modern industrial nation by the year 2000, only twenty years from now. The program is called the Four Modernizations, which are the modernization of agriculture, of industry, of national defence, and of science and technology. The first phase of the program – to 1985 – as initially disclosed was estimated to cost about $350 billion. Subsequent additions and extensions have raised that figure to $650 billion or more in the period to 1990.

To put these numbers in perspective, let me remind you that China has a land mass slightly smaller than Canada, supporting a population of more than 900 million people compared to our 23 million. It has a per capita G.N.P. of about $500 per person compared to our $8,400, or a total G.N.P. of about $450 billion compared to our $200 billion. According to the World Bank, in recent years real growth in China, off a relatively small base, has been averaging about seven per cent per year, compared to our five per cent off a much higher per capita base.

Planning for this ambitious program was initiated under the aegis of Chou En-lai before his death. The first major step towards implementation, however, came in February of this year when China signed a $20 billion eight-year trade agreement with Japan. Then in March, at the Fifth National People's Congress, China announced a ten-year economic development program (1976 through 1985) of 120 major industrial projects, including ten iron and steel complexes, nine non-ferrous metal complexes, eight coal mines, ten oil and gas fields, thirty power stations, six trunk rail lines and five harbour projects.

Recognizing that outside technology and expertise will be essential if this ambitious program is to be achieved, foreign firms are being invited in to support the development effort. In addition, China seems ready to abandon its former cash-and-carry policy in favour of various term-financing devices, including product payments, barter deals, possibly even joint-venture arrangements, and finally, as disclosed only in recent weeks, term loans from institutional leaders. China's credit is excellent at this point and its initial approaches to lenders are being greeted with glad cries. Given the awesome proportions of these plans – and the potential market for and source of goods and services that is represented by China's 900 million people – it is not surprising that the developed world is quickly responding.

Bids are being invited from all developed nations except the Soviet bloc. Japan, of course, has so far been the principal beneficiary, which is certainly logical given its technical proficiency, its geographic proximity, and its language similarity. Nippon Steel Corporation already has a contract to build a $3 billion steel complex near Shanghai. Japan National Oil Company has an oil exploration agreement. Hitachi Shipbuilding and Engineering Company and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries each have contracts to modernize Chinese shipyards, and so on.

However, China is shopping world-wide for expertise and technology. Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Americans, Danes, Canadians, and firms of almost every nationality outside the Soviet bloc are being invited for proposals.

Where does Canada stand at this point? Well, in recent years, as you probably know, Canadian trade with China has been mainly wheat – from $150 to $300 million annually. China produced about 285 million tons of grain in 1977, but most of this was rice (China is a major exporter of rice to other Asian nations) and China imports wheat to supplement its own production. In addition, starting in 1975, we have supplied about $20 to $30 million a year of pulp and paper – mostly pulp – in addition to miscellaneous items, including aluminum ingot, by the way.

Our imports from China have been small, about $80 million per year mostly in consumer goods, resulting in a large imbalance of trade in our favour. This is a problem – not an insuperable problem, but one that should be dealt with by a conscious effort on our part to increase our imports from China as we increase our exports to China. It is not insuperable because the grain sector is a special case – China must import wheat and the available suppliers are limited mainly to North America.

As a potential supplier, Canada has a marginal but unquantifiable advantage over other western nations because of its early recognition of the People's Republic in preference to Taiwan. I would describe this advantage mainly as a desire to do business with Canada so long as quality, price and terms are at least equal.

As far as products are concerned, it seems clear that in the short term wheat will continue to be a major item. However, subject to normal lead times, I suggest that technology and expertise will become increasingly important. Project design and management, process equipment, and for a transition period perhaps even raw materials, in the fields of mining, metallurgy (both ferrous and non-ferrous) and hydro-electricity are fertile fields for our Canadian engineers and equipment manufacturers to plough. And speaking of ploughing, agricultural equipment, and new factories to produce such equipment, are also potential areas for Canadian involvement.

Oil and gas technology is another area. Only yesterday it was announced that Petrocan and Ranger Oil have been invited to submit a proposal for offshore oil development – in the case of Ranger, utilizing technology developed in its North Sea drilling operations.

Another area of promise to Canada is the tourist trade. CP Air expects to start direct flights from Canada to China sometime in 1979, and is interested in providing hotel management services as well to help care for the expected surge of both business and pleasure travellers. China only gave out 10,000 visas in 1978, but wants to move that up to 100,000 by 1980.

In my own industry – forest products – the opportunities have not been as clearly delineated as those mentioned above. Nonetheless, a careful examination of the situation indicates a growing long-term potential, especially in the pulp and paper field. Consider these facts: because of the high fibre strength derived from long fibre softwood trees, the softwood timber resource is the most important source of raw materials for most pulp and paper products. About fifty per cent of the world's standing inventory of softwood timber is located in Russia, about thirty-three per cent in North America, and the balance is distributed mainly in Europe, Asia and Latin America.

Russia, of course, is not a potential supplier to China for political reasons. Entirely apart from the political problem, however, Russia has had to run hard just to keep up with its own internal demand growth, and shows no sign of any serious intention to become a major supplier to nations outside the Soviet bloc. Europe and Japan are net importers of pulp and paper products, and their future growth in consumption will have to be supplied from other areas, mainly North America. Although Latin America has future potential, the main potential is in hardwoods, and, longer range, in the development of softwood plantations that will not be market-ready for a number of years.

China, then, must either look internally for wood fibre to serve its future growth in consumption, or else look to North America. Although China has a modest softwood resource, the development programs announced so far do not include pulp and paper as a high-priority item. Yet the growth in economic activity being programmed will of necessity bring – indeed, has already brought – a sharp increase in the use and consumption of pulp and paper products. Pulp will be required for printing and writing papers. Newsprint will be required for improved mass communications. Packaging will be required for export products as well as domestic.

The sum and substance of all this, in our estimation, is that China will be a growing importer of pulp and paper products – principally bleached kraft pulp, newsprint and linerboard. Actually, China's import volumes of these products have grown considerably in the past three years. However, the Chinese have been opportunistic buyers, both because of the previous policy of self-reliance, that is, to minimize imports, and because major volumes of pulp have been available at discount prices during the recent world recession. Our belief is that China recognizes the reality of the world distribution of softwood timber inventories and is now open to proposals for long-term supply arrangements with North American producers to assure itself of a continuing reliable supply at reasonable, competitive prices. For logistical reasons, West Coast suppliers, both American and Canadian, will be the principal trade partners, but others will also be competing for the volume from time to time – even Japan and Scandinavia.

What about lumber and plywood? China has not imported softwood lumber or plywood, which are ideal building materials, for many years. There are, of course, many small sawmills and a number of plywood mills in China, which produce mainly hardwoods and some softwood lumber from logs imported from Russia. Although there is no indication at this time that softwood lumber or plywood will be added to the import list, one must speculate whether an aggressive construction program such as this, incorporating western design and management, might not develop a requirement for engineered wood products that would most logically be supplied from British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest.

In total, the picture looks good for Canada, despite the difficulty of curing the present imbalance in Canada's favour. As many of you know, only a month ago I participated in an informal trade mission to China headed by Paul Desmarais. Included in this group were senior executives representing a broad cross-section of Canada's capabilities both to export to and import from China. We calculated that, with only reasonable success, Canada should be able to develop a cumulative two-way trade flow of at least $10 billion between now and 1985.

Obviously there are many risks and uncertainties inherent in these projections. They range from political uncertainty to the possibility of management failure, to a renewal of the class struggle, to concern over financial feasibility.

The most difficult risk to assess is the political uncertainty, which would, of course, be aggravated by any or all of the other uncertainties. The driving force behind China's economic development program is Vice-Premier Teng, a 73-year-old veteran of the infighting at the top, who has been removed from power twice in the past, but each time has come back more powerful than ever. By any standard, Teng is a tough, dynamic leader, with more vitality than most 20-year-olds. He and his adherents are called the pragmatists for they value the achievement of their goals more than the ideological purity of the means employed, and are thus more open to imported technology and expertise with the attendant dangers of exposure to the values of the western world.

The Chief of State, on the other hand, is Chairman Hua, an equally vital 57-year-old, who has shouldered Mao's ideological mantle to a greater degree than has Teng. How these two men and their peers negotiate the trade-offs between rapid modernization, on the one hand, and the ideological purity of Chinese socialism, on the other hand, will determine the economic future of China as well as the future of trade with China.

Consider, for instance, the internal strains that will now be imposed on higher education in China, where after the "lost decade" students will be selected on the basis of scholastic aptitude rather than political enthusiasm; where faculties will be expected to catch up instantly on the "lost decade" of progress in their fields in order to teach today's technology to their students; where during the "lost decade" many of the best and the brightest were sent to rusticate in the communes and now must face the possibility that life has passed them by in favour of today's student generation.

Consider, for instance, the impact on China of sending thousands and thousands of students to universities all over the world to catch up on the "lost decade" of language ability and technological proficiency. What attitudes will they bring back to China when they return?

Consider, for instance, the impact of widespread tourism in China and the cultural relaxation and openness that will be necessary in order for tourism to succeed and expand.

Will these forces and others bring about the emergence of new groups of élite? Will Chinese society again polarize in a renewal of the class struggle? When Teng and the other veterans retire, will the younger group headed by Hua precipitate another cultural revolution and turn their backs on economic development?

China watchers the world over are asking these questions and watching events carefully to divine the answers. All that can be said at this point is that both Hua and Teng support the long-range plans that are now being implemented. Long-range programs tend to take on a life of their own almost independent of political change, and perhaps that is the objective. If so, we should be able to count on at least a ten-to-fifteen-year run of economic development and foreign trade growth for China.

Beyond that, no man can see with clarity of vision. And beyond that, I expect, the problems and opportunities will belong to our children and theirs, not to us.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by William M. Karn, a Past President of The Empire Club of Canada.

NOVEMBER 9, 1978

Up the Empire — Interbreeding for a Better World

AN ADDRESS BY Ben Wicks,
POLITICAL CARTOONIST
AND AUTHOR

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club: Our guest speaker, Ben Wicks, and myself have at least two things in common – we are both Canadians, new Canadians, if you like; and we were both born in England. Indeed, Ben Wicks might share in common with me what I share in common with many other people from the United Kingdom in that we have some of the blood of each of the four nations that make up Great Britain. Each country has a distinct national characteristic. For example, there are the Scots. They religiously keep the Sabbath and for that matter anything else that comes their way. Then there are the Welsh. They pray upon their knees and upon their neighbours. Then the Irish – the Irish really do not know what they want but they are perfectly prepared to die for it. Then there are the English. The Englishman is a self-made man, thereby absolving God from an awful responsibility.

But Ben Wicks is a very special Englishman. He comes from a select and distinguished group, one could say unique, in that they have been born within the sound of the famous Bow bells (the bells of St. Mary-le-Bow Church). Therefore they are the rare and true-blue Cockneys. They epitomize Shakespeare's "this happy breed."

Ben Wicks has the ebullience, humour and physique of the true Cockney, complete to that bulge in their cheeks which is where they keep their tongues. They are a happy band, always optimistic and never lost for an answer. For instance, when the British Government was considering building a tunnel under the English Channel to link France and England, an official in Whitehall at the Ministry of Works was opening tenders and listing the figures: Dorsetshire Underwater Construction Company – £358 million; the Marine Underwater Construction and Shoring Company – £373 million; Channel Services Construction – £365 million; Alfred Blogg & Son – £15.5.9½. The official asked his assistant if he knew the firm of Blogg & Son. When the answer was no, he asked him to phone Blogg and find out how they intended to build the tunnel for £15.5.9½. The official got through to Mr. Blogg and asked him. Blogg said that he was going to send his son, Fred, to Calais with a shovel and that he was going to Dover with a shovel. Then his son would dig towards Dover, while he would dig towards Calais and when they met up in the middle, there was the tunnel. The official said, "But what if you miss each other?" And Blogg replied, "Well, you get two tunnels!"

There is also a touch of the romantic and of the sea in Ben Wicks for he sailed to and fro across the Atlantic as a professional musician on luxury liners. Then in 1957 he came to Canada to reside here permanently. He developed and refined his incisive talents as a cartoonist to such a degree that *Time*, in a full-page article on our speaker, described his "uncanny knack of anticipating news and commenting on it with a delphic twist."

Mr. Wicks is a TV personality with his own syndicated series. He is one of the highest paid and most widely distributed political cartoonists in the world – *Time* magazine put his daily readership at over fifty million. All this and an author too – Ben Wicks, the writer, produced the best seller, *Ben Wicks' Canada*, and his latest book, *Ben Wicks' Women* is currently at the book stores and will likely be the root of your next feminist row.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is with pleasure, I might almost say with glee, that I introduce today's guest speaker, Mr. Ben Wicks.

MR. WICKS:

Ladies and gentlemen: It's always the same. Just when you're going to give a funny speech, the guy before you gives one better!

Need I say that I'm delighted to be here amongst such distinguished company? I was surprised to be asked, but when I found out how much I was being paid, I wasn't surprised any longer. You're quite right, Mr. Chairman. Cockneys do have a sense of humour. They need it – to come out and speak for nothing. But the chicken was terrific.

I can only guess at the reasons why I was asked. Perhaps, because I work for *The Globe and Mail*, the only national newspaper in Canada, and because I appear on the financial pages of the newspaper, there was word bandied about that "the guy must be intelligent."

Well, let's just clear the decks and get honesty on the table. I want to take you back to the year 1944. Many of you will remember that in that year there was a fairly large war going on in Europe and other places. It was actually possible in 1944 to tell which side was going to win. I joined the English side in 1944, and I had been in the army about a month. There were about thirty of us living in a hut (the whole British Army lived in huts in 1944) and one morning the Sergeant-Major came in very, very excited. He said, "I has wonderful news. We has a General, coming to visit the camp!" Well, because he was jumping up and down with excitement, we decided to join him. So we all stood up and jumped up and down in the middle of this silly hut.

Now, his idea was that before the General arrived, we would get the camp cleaned up and impress him. So, since the British Army is a very organized group, we rush out of the hut and line up in three rows of ten – which, for those of you who are not English, adds up to thirty.

Once we were lined up, the Sergeant-Major carried on as follows: "H'all those wiv a h'university education, one pace forward march."

So one guy steps out. I don't know to this day whether he had a university education, or whether he was just deaf.

The Sergeant-Major says to him, "Right, you. Go round the camp and pick up every bit o' paper that you can see." So this guy sets off.

Then he says, "All those who got through 'igh school." Another three step out.

The Sergeant-Major says, "Follow along after 'im, and pick up all the cigarette ends you can find." So off they trot.

Then he says, "All those who got through grade nine." A whole mob stepped out. "Right," he says, "follow along after that group and pick up all the match sticks you can find . . . and as for *you*, Wicks . . . you go along be'ind that lot and you might bloody well learn something."

So it's quite obvious you haven't got an intellect standing before you. But you might have someone who can draw. That's why they've set up the board. They figure I can draw pictures, since I draw cartoons for the newspaper.

Well, I *did* go to one of the finest art schools in the world, in London, England. I went for two weeks, actually – evening classes. At the end of this period we had our first test. Unlike the common-garden variety art class, where you have bowls of fruit to draw, we had just one banana. It sat on this table. I know many of you enjoy seaside postcards – but this had nothing to do with the fact that the teacher was not fussy about my banana. In fact, he suggested that I get into something else that did not involve drawing. So I did, as you can see. I draw cartoons – there's no drawing involved in that.

Now, the other thing. When you see a crowd like this, it gives you the idea that you're getting fairly well known, at least in Toronto. About three months ago, one morning, I promised my two children that I would go to their high school because they were having a "Personality Day." People in business were there to tell the kids what it's like in the working world. So I agreed to do this, but it turned out to be at the worst possible time – one of my busiest days. At nine o'clock Doreen drove me to the school and waited in the car outside. I rushed in and was greeted by a crowd of kids. I delivered a twenty-minute talk and then charged out, leapt in the car and Doreen rushed me to York Mills subway station. By now it was 9.30, and the

Ben Wicks,
political cartoonist and author

platform at the subway was deserted, with the exception of one woman and her daughter, a girl of about fifteen. As I walked past this pair, I heard the daughter say to her mother, "That's Ben Wicks."

Well, I thought, bloody good. Blimey, I'm glad I went to the school.

So I get on the subway train, I open a book, and I'm suddenly conscious that people opposite are nudging each other and pointing. Now I'm beginning to feel like Paul Newman. I figure, this is fantastic. I start to think, how does Gregory Peck behave when he's sitting on a subway train? You don't scratch your nose, or your ear. So I begin to smile at all these people. At each stop, as they get off, they are nudging each other and looking over their shoulders.

By the time we get to College Street, I look like a complete idiot – grinning all over my face. So I get off and rush to the CBC. And just before I went into the studio, a technician stopped me and said, "Excuse me, Ben, but you won't need this." And he peeled off the biggest label you've ever seen from my pocket. The label said, "Hi! I'm Ben Wicks." I've never been so embarrassed in me life.

But regardless of whether you've invited the wrong person, or not, it's too late. You've had it. The doors are locked. So I'm going to take advantage of this and carry on with my mission: "Up the Empire – Interbreeding for a Better World."

Many of you may think that I'm not serious, but I am perfectly serious in this. What I'm suggesting is that, if you don't know it already, this country is in trouble. Crime is up, church is down, porno is in, virginity is out. Canada, in fact, is going to the dogs.

What are Canadians doing about it? Nothing. What am I going to do? Plenty. What I have to say is this. There's nothing actually wrong with this country. That's the first thing you have to understand. It's the people that live in it.

Now, what this country needs are Englishmen. They need Englishmen to guide, Englishmen to lead, Englishmen to advise, Englishmen to overcome the problems now besetting Canada, Englishmen to steer Canada along the road of righteousness to still waters and therein rest, for all the world to see and marvel and emulate. I'll wait for the cheers to subside and the crowd to resume their seats.

Now, are you back comfortably in your chairs?

When I speak of more Englishmen, many of you are going to say, we have a lot of English living here now. Of course, I'm not speaking of the riffraff and the rabble who have settled here since the war because they couldn't get a job in England. We certainly don't want any more of the likes of you know who. For one thing, they breed like rabbits, and before we know where we are we'd be in a hell of a pickle.

No, that is not the kind we need. Certainly I can tell you how easy it is to get those weird kinds, that we have enough of. I think I should tell you a story that I read in the paper just last week about the newest English immigrant who wanted to come over. It seems he had worked for Lady Astor, as a butler, and had been fired. He now wants to make his home in

Canada. The reason why he had been fired is well worth listening to, because it gives a perfect example of the type of person we don't need.

It seems that this particular person, James, had been called into the library by Lady Astor, who had said to him, "James, remove my dress . . . James, remove my stockings . . . James, remove my petticoat – and if I ever catch you wearing my clothes again . . ."

This is not the kind of man we are looking for. God knows, we have enough of them. We've got one in Ottawa. Oh, what am I saying? Cut that!

No, what we need here are true aristocrats, true Englishmen. Let's start by asking, what is an Englishman? Many of you are asking this. I think it's easier if we start by telling you what an Englishman is not.

An Englishman is not a foreigner. That's the first thing you have to understand. Foreigners are tall (or short), speak with an accent, chew gum, and enjoy ice hockey. We, the English, as you can see, are of average height, smoke a pipe, carry a rolled umbrella, go to the best schools, yet remain impervious to knowledge. And, of course, the main thing to remember is that we are gentlemen at all times.

Now, we do have our faults. We are no doubt too decent, too honest and too kind to the Empire countries.

Many of you at this point are probably saying to yourselves that this sounds very anti-Canadian. Let me quickly add that I have lived in this country for twenty-two years, and of all the colonies, Canada is my favourite.

Now, what about the program? Are there enough of these Englishmen around to actually carry out the interbreeding program that we have in mind? Of course, there are not.

Now I've finally mentioned the word – interbreeding. Interbreeding is not the nicest of things to talk about, but in fact it has to be said, because there just aren't enough aristocrats to go around. However, I have travelled to London and spoken to half a dozen who are quite willing to come to Canada and actually interbreed with selected Canadian females.

Now I can feel the tension in the room! The women are all getting very excited. So I will quickly add that I'm not an aristocrat, so please don't get hold of me afterwards. I'm just the messenger bringing the news.

I do want to spend some time on the difference between an Englishman and other mortals. You will find that many of the Canadians here, knowing that such a program is about to be undertaken, will now leave this room and start pretending to be English, in the hope that they will be able to get involved. So for the sake of the ladies, I think it is only fair that I should show you how you can recognize which one it is you are to get involved with for the future of Canada – naturally not for self pleasure.

I'm going to draw, and lift the board up so that everyone can see. The first thing you have to understand about the English aristocrat is that the true English aristocrat has no chin. Sir Arthur Chetwynd – will you stand up, please. You see – he has no chin. Incidentally, Sir Arthur has told me that he would be glad to give interviews at six o'clock tonight.

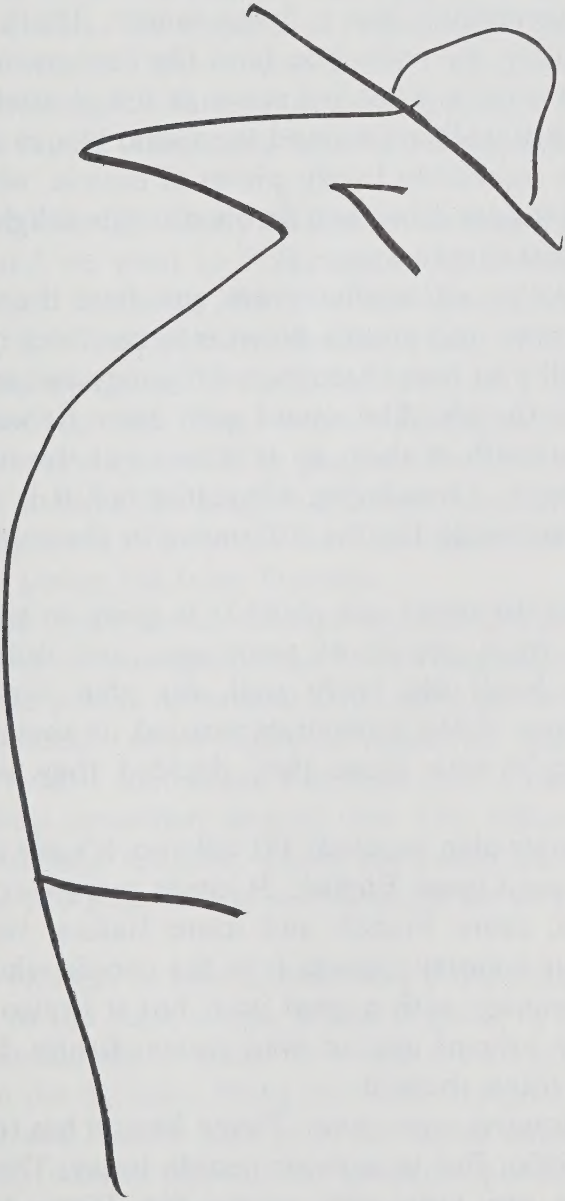
Now, here's the aristocrat. He looks something like this, with no chin at all.

Of course there's a reason why he has no chin. Like everything else in breeding, it goes back for a number of years.

The reason why the true aristocrat has no chin goes back to the days of old when knights were bold and rode out to help maidens in distress – although many people say it was the knights who got them into distress in the first place. In those days, and this is an absolute fact which you can check out at the Royal Ontario Museum, knights in England wore suits of armour. And what you will notice, if you look closely at the trouser part of the armour, is that there is no fly. I kid you not. That's a fact. There is no fly in a suit of armour, which meant that once you left the castle there was no way – if you understand what I mean – until you actually got back to the castle. I mean, you can't get off your horse in the middle of a war and start fiddling about behind a tree.

Now, we can imagine knights who went off to war and who came back to the castle, maybe a couple of years later, with their legs crossed in the saddle. Imagine what happened at the end of the Hundred Year War! Then there were people with no chins at all. For they had their chins pulled in like this . . .

So, the fact is that this chinlessness has been passed down and the aristocrat that you see today looks like that.



“. . . no chin at all.”

Now, to warn the women in the room – you are going to be accosted later by many people with pulled-in chins. But there is another way to find out if this is a genuine aristocrat, and that is by his accent. Now, there's also a reason for this.

The English have a channel, going from the nose and the mouth, down through the throat, and in the throat there is a small shape something like a flying saucer. That's the voice box. Surrounding the voice box (and the doctors in this room will bear this out) is what is known as the glottis wall. Now within the glottis wall and around the sound box in an Englishman there are incredibly lovely pieces of muscle, which gently ease the air as it goes down and throw out this delightful sound that you are listening to now.

When you get to a Canadian voice, you have the same channel from the nose and mouth down into the voice box, but in the glottis wall you have these incredibly ugly pieces of gristle. These claw at the air. The sound goes down, it wants to get out, but the mouth is shut, so it comes out the only exit – through the nose – wondering where the hell it is and it says "Eh?" That accounts for the difference in the sounds of the voices.

What can we do about our plan? Is it going to succeed? We set this plan up a couple of years ago, and unfortunately, although the book did fairly well, the plan itself has not succeeded. Many of the aristocrats insisted on seeing pictures, and once they'd seen those they decided they would stay home.

Can this master plan succeed? I'll tell you, it's *got* to succeed. Canada does need more English. It needs more Germans, and more Chinese, more French and more Italian, because the strength of our country Canada is in the people who live here. Canada is a country with a great past, but it is also a country with a greater present and an even greater future. I just wish people would think about it.

Sure, our pioneers were great. Pierre Berton has told us that they were terrific. But so are our people today. They are also terrific. There are kids with names like Diane Jones who thrilled us in the track and field events at the Olympic Games.

There are kids like Greg Athens, who lives in Kamloops and works like a dog through the summer because he holds two world records in free-style skiing. But we as Canadians couldn't care less.

There are kids like the one who dropped out of high school, here in Toronto. He went to the bank and borrowed seven thousand dollars. He opened a skate-board shop on Yonge Street. *He* worked like a dog and in six months cleared a hundred thousand dollars. He is now opening a factory with a partner to supply Americans with two thousand skate boards a week.

There are kids like Cindy Nicholas. We knew we had a great swimmer and we went to Folkstone to do a story on her. And when we got there, to the absolute pinnacle for marathon swimmers, the Channel swim, the fishermen, the Cross Channel Association, everyone in the little town of Folkstone could speak of nobody else. They weren't talking about huge Egyptians with entourages of fifty people who come every summer to attempt to swim the English Channel. They said the greatest swimmer in twenty-five years that they have ever seen is Cindy Nicholas, a young kid from Toronto.

We should speak about the doctors, like Dr. Selye, Dr. Heinz Lehmann; about comedians like Yvon Deschamps, who lives in Montreal. So you've never heard of him? I can tell you that for seventeen weeks, seven nights a week, he was a sellout in Montreal. And if that doesn't impress you, I can tell you that this stand-up comedian cleared over two million dollars last year in Paris and Quebec. These are living Canadians, people who many countries in the world would be very proud to call their own.

It's not enough to love Canada like a mistress, and whisper about her in the back alleys. If you're going to love this country, you should shout about it – like a wife you're proud to take out in the daylight. Bring out your thoughts.

My wife and I came here in 1957. Those exasperating, dull, lovable, silly, decent, tolerant and generous people – Canadians – took us in. They didn't have to, but they did.

Before I finish, I want to add this one word. I get lots of arguments in the newspaper, and letters, and criticism about what I draw and what I talk about. I don't care. You can curse me. You can swear at me. You can threaten me. You can say what you like. But don't tell me to go home. Because here I *am* home.

Thank you.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Col. John G.B. Strathy, C.D., Third Vice-President of The Empire Club of Canada.

NOVEMBER 16, 1978

Power and the Abuse of Power in Canada

AN ADDRESS BY Stephen B. Roman,
CHAIRMAN, DENISON MINES LIMITED

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: Our speaker is a legend in his own time. He is the embodiment of new world success. He is the proof it can be done – an immigrant who came to Canada forty-one years ago, an eight-dollar-per-month farm labourer who turned a penny mining stock into an industrial giant with annual sales of $200 million.

It has been a long and difficult road that our guest has travelled, a road that began in the town of Velky Ruskov in Slovakia where he was born. That long road has been marked by Mr. Roman's own unique milestones.

Mr. Roman was quoted in a magazine article earlier this year as saying, "I am a builder. Between a builder and a person satisfied with temporal values, there is a great difference." This at once captures the character of the man as a hard-driving businessman who retains deep spiritual values, a man with the self-confidence and ability to build a multi-million dollar, multi-faceted business empire, and yet retain a great personal concern for the plight of his fellow man.

He has been awarded honorary doctorate of law degrees from the University of Toronto and from St. Francis Xavier University. In 1963 he was made a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, an honour bestowed on him by Pope John XXIII. Indeed, he was the first and only Canadian auditor to the Vatican Ecumenical Council in Rome.

Our speaker's company, Denison Mines Limited, controls the largest uranium mine in the world. It is a diversified industrial giant with interests in oil, gas, coal, cement products and other mining and industrial investments, both national and international. Beyond his business interests, our guest is an honorary director of the Canadian Folk Arts Council, and an honorary director of the Royal Agricultural Winter Fair. He is also a Life Member of The Empire Club of Canada.

Mr. Roman is active in ethnic affairs, and farming has been a life interest from his days at agricultural school in Slovakia to his prize-winning herd of Holstein-Friesians on his 1,200 acre Romandale Farms in Unionville.

Stephen Roman has been and remains a controversial figure. He is said to despise politicians. A critic of government, he is outspoken in his concerns and he does not just talk, for he has twice run for federal office, albeit unsuccessfully.

He is an ardent and vocal free enterpriser. He abhors government interference and he has certainly had his share. Lester Pearson cancelled a $90 million uranium contract that he had negotiated with France. Prime Minister Trudeau stopped a move to sell Denison Mines to American interests and his most recent multi-million dollar deal with Ontario Hydro stirred the N.D.P. to call for the nationalization of Denison.

But to Stephen Roman this is the price of being a successful businessman – to be suspected, to be criticized, to be considered autocratic. He acknowledges this in a simple statement: "There are people who don't like my character because I am non-conformist . . . they don't understand my commitment." Committed he is. As a devout Catholic he is committed to his religion, to his family, and to his principles.

It is in keeping with this concerned personality that Mr. Roman's chosen topic today is "Power and the Abuse of Power on the One Hand and the Pursuit of Excellence for Canada on the Other."

Ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasure to present to you Mr. Stephen B. Roman.

MR. ROMAN:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: Let me begin by thanking you for the privilege of being with you. Many great men and women of our time have stood at this podium, and I am honoured to be asked to address this distinguished audience.

I do not intend to speak as a mining executive, even though the questions surrounding the future of resource development in Canada more than qualifies as a major issue of the day. With your indulgence, I want to talk about a much larger and more crucial issue: the very grave dangers we face in Canada from the present trends in the exercise of political power.

This may sound like an unlikely subject for a businessman. Over the next few minutes I hope to show that most of the problems eroding the strength of our country have their origins in politics. We will only resolve those problems when each of us comes to the realization that the future of our country is too important to be left to politicians.

Mr. Chairman, it is the tradition of speakers appearing on this forum to deal with one of the major issues of the day. I have selected my topic because I believe it to be not only the most important, but the crucial issue confronting the Canadian people at this time.

Any consideration of power and its abuse must begin with some comment on the legitimate use of power. Here we have a wide spectrum of belief and practice. At one end of the spectrum is the Judeo-Christian concept. This view, to which I fully subscribe, states that all power is a divine trust, and its only legitimate use is to improve the material and spiritual well-being of mankind under divine guidance.

At the other end of the spectrum is the materialistic view that "might is right." Advocates of this view believe that power is for those strong enough and clever enough to take it. The holder is free to use it as he sees fit, without any moral constraint.

Recognizing man's innate passion for power, those at the Judeo-Christian end of the spectrum are warned of the danger of accepting it. We are cautioned that "Power tends to corrupt

Stephen Roman,
President,
Denison Mines Limited

and absolute power corrupts absolutely." For those operating at the other end of the scale, the mood is much lighter. They are persuaded to believe that "Power is lovely and absolute power is absolutely lovely." In the short run, this often appears true, but the euphoria never lasts.

History is strewn with the corpses of those who mistakenly assumed that they could employ power without responsibility for national, institutional, or personal advantage.

It is against this background that I want to consider the exercise of power in Canada as a preliminary to proposals designed to lead us out of our present economic chaos.

In the power context, the corrupting force of "absolute power" is very much a factor of our political system. The office of the Prime Minister of Canada is exceedingly powerful in terms of its unfettered control over the political and economic affairs of the nation.

A Canadian Prime Minister with a majority in the House *enjoys all but supreme power*. He has unquestioned control over the legislative process, and of the executive arm of government, and between elections, is free to act as he wishes, subject only to the concern that he may not be re-elected for a following term. Unlike the President of the United States, whose powers are constrained at every turn by constitutional checks and balances, our Prime Minister is at liberty to do as he wishes in government affairs. This is true whether the matter is new legislation, selection of cabinet ministers, appointments to the Senate, to the federal judiciary, including the Justices of the Supreme Court, or to senior government positions ranging through deputy ministers, ambassadors, and so on.

Despite the opportunities for abuse which this kind of power affords, Canadian prime ministers in the past have generally used it with great responsibility, none more so than our great French Canadian prime ministers, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Louis St. Laurent. For them, as for others who have held the office, power was indeed a divine trust to be used to serve the people of Canada and preserve their freedom and dignity in a free enterprise society.

Under the leadership of such men, Canada was transformed over the span of a hundred years into one of the finest, most respected and most prosperous democracies in the world. Of course there were difficulties; sacrifices had to be made to establish reasonable levels of social services for the sick and the aged and the poor. But in the hearts of all Canadians, especially our young men and women, was the hope and prospect of achieving their own level of greatness in this land of opportunity. Indeed when we celebrated our centenary in 1967, Canada was by and large "glorious and free."

But in the short space of ten years, we have seen the work ethic seriously eroded. Whole segments of our society have been corrupted by government paternalism. Many people and, tragically, a lot of our young people have been encouraged to see government handouts as a normal and acceptable way of life. Punitive taxation is killing the incentive for people to be their own providers.

The producers and risk-takers – whose initiative built this country – are becoming demoralized by a government-induced climate hostile to enterprise and profit.

It would be charitable to say that many of these effects were the unforeseen result of good intentions that did not work out, in practice. But, in my view, the issue goes much deeper. The plain fact, ladies and gentlemen, is that most of the programmes that have created such havoc in our society were brought in with no mandate from the people. With our present political process and system of government, the people's mandate is becoming a thing of the past.

Examine the rhetoric of recent federal elections. Which party asked for a mandate to introduce price and wage controls? The people said "no"; but they got them all the same. When were we asked for a mandate to change our free enterprise economy into a government-managed economy?

We all have our list of government programs we feel should never have been introduced: unemployment insurance in its present form; open immigration; institutionalized bilingualism; opportunities for youth; too liberal welfare; expansion of the civil service; there are plenty to pick from.

Consider that neither you nor anyone else had an opportunity to express your opinion for or against these programs. Equally important, our system gives you no way to have a harmful program removed – even if the majority of the people want it eliminated.

Party discipline and cabinet secrecy doctrines give a Canadian prime minister almost absolute power. He has total control of the legislative process. Through the Privy Council Office, the Cabinet Secretariat and committees, he has total control of the policy development process. Therefore he has the unrestricted power to put his personal imprint on every policy direction followed by the government.

By comparison, a president of the United States needs the advice and consent of both houses of the Congress before he can exercise his executive power – including appointments to *his* own cabinet. The Canadian prime minister makes reference to no one in selecting his cabinet, creating Justices of the Supreme Court, appointing permanent heads of public service departments, and even the Governor General.

With all this power at his fingertips – power gained through hundreds of regulatory bodies which the prime minister controls directly through the appointment of members – a mandate from the people is a luxury for a Canadian prime minister.

Let me make it clear that my comments are not directed at Mr. Trudeau. My concern is that our system of government places too much power in the hands of one man, with no checks and balances. Few men can live up to the demands imposed by such enormous power. Part of that concern comes from the way in which we select our prime ministers. One word – charisma. We all know that one of Mr. Trudeau's great appeals to the Canadian public was his exciting image.

Surely, after more than a decade of missed opportunity, of steady decline in our national fortunes, of growing divisiveness, of mounting uncertainty, alienation and apathy, depreciating currency, our cloudy image abroad, incredible mismanagement of the Post Office, the establishment of social security beyond reasonable requirement, and the outlay of hundreds of millions of dollars in nationalization programs . . . surely we have learned that we cannot delegate responsibility for our country's destiny to charismatic leadership.

I could go on, Mr. Chairman, but these citations will more than substantiate the fact that our nation has not been properly managed. We have not been getting the leadership we deserve. In election after election, Canadians have placed style over substance. We have responded to image, instead of examining the reality of the country's leadership needs. In the process, we have very effectively glossed over the country's real problem, which is that too many Canadians have lost faith in Canada's potential for excellence. We must find ways to give Canadians renewed faith in themselves and in this country. The alternative to this is to lapse into mediocrity.

In my view, a major part of that renewed faith can be achieved by bringing Canadians back into the mainstream of the country's affairs. This means making our system of government more relevant – and, above all, responsible to the people. It means taking the ultimate power to determine the direction of the country from the hands of one man, and placing it where it rightfully belongs – *with the people.*

Had the people anything to say about the management of the country, we would not be running a $15 billion deficit this year. It is these soaring deficits, unrelated to the production of *real* wealth, which debase the dollar, accelerate inflation, increase unemployment and debilitate the national will to succeed.

This brings me to my *first* proposal. We should seriously consider introducing a right for citizens to assert their mandate on major issues through the referendum process. Would we be spending $5 billion on unemployment insurance this year if we had been given an opportunity to vote "yes" or "no" on this particular program?

Some people will argue that specific issues may not be understood well enough to be resolved by a popular vote. The people might make a wrong decision from time to time. But just show me a government that is right all the time – or even most of the time.

My *second* proposal is that legislation be enacted to set some limits on the level of public spending and public debt.

My *third* proposal is for action requiring the government to withdraw from *all* its current economic activity, where this involves competition with, or an incursion into, the sphere of private sector responsibility.

My *fourth* proposal is that action be taken to disband the Foreign Investment Review Agency. This agency has proved a major deterrent to a much needed flow of foreign capital into Canada for industrial development purposes.

My *fifth* proposition for action is that we make all unions in Canada legal entities – responsible to both their memberships and the general public – the same as any other responsible entity in this country.

There is an important principle underlying all of these proposals. The cornerstone of Canadian society must be the encouragement of individual freedom and initiative.

There are risks involved in giving the people more direct responsibility in the conduct of our national affairs. But to get Canada back on a proper course we must mobilize Canadian men and women to the common cause of securing the future. We must find some common ground on which we can all agree to focus our efforts. In my view that common ground is to be found by laying the foundations for a responsible society in Canada. In a truly responsible society, each individual has a responsibility to do his utmost to improve his own lot, and to contribute to the improvement of the society around him. Government's responsibility should be to provide a climate which fosters and rewards initiative at all levels of society.

As Canadians, we are the trustees of a very precious heritage and destiny. That heritage embraces the finest virtues of the old world, mixed with our own Canadian traditions. The destiny is that of a land with the greatest potential on God's earth. If we believe in that heritage and destiny we have an undeniable responsibility to pursue a course of excellence for Canada, so that those who follow us will inherit an even stronger foundation to build on.

The first step requires leadership. Not that of a political leader, but the leadership each one of us is capable of – the leadership of personal responsibility and individual commitment. Above all, it requires that, as responsible Canadians, we become directly involved in the decisions that govern our country.

The second step is to start using a new language when we talk about the future of Canada. All we have heard from the politicians is constitutional formulas and power-sharing agreements. It's time we used the language people understand – the language of opportunity.

I personally think that Canadians are ready for a different and more exciting challenge than our leaders have dared to put before us – the challenge of building a new and vibrant Canada. Not simply a new constitutional framework, but a society in which all our citizens can find and share in the opportunity.

We have a common cause – turning Canada's potential for excellence into a society based on excellence, where *just* and *satisfying* rewards are the product of effort and contribution. We have the resources to do the job – millions of men and women who live with uncertainty and fear that the Canadian dream might be drifting away.

The time has come, ladies and gentlemen, for us to show our faith in ourselves and to believe in our capacity for excellence. With our renewed faith, we can move forward to build the society of excellence that *Canada is destined to be!*

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Robert L. Armstrong, a Past President of The Empire Club of Canada.

NOVEMBER 23, 1978

Canada and Barbados

AN ADDRESS BY The Rt. Hon. J.M.G. Adams,
PRIME MINISTER, BARBADOS

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Mr. Prime Minister, Your Excellency, My Lord Bishop, distinguished guests, members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: Those members of long service and longer memories will recall that on October 23, 1958, this assembly was addressed by the first prime minister of the West Indies Federation, Sir Grantley Adams. Twenty years later we are delighted to welcome as our guest speaker today, the late Sir Grantley's son, and the prime minister of Barbados, Mr. John Adams.

Mr. Adams was born in Barbados and educated at Oxford, where he received his Master's degree in Politics, Philosophy and Economics. During this period he was president of the Oxford University West Indies Association and vice-president of the West Indies Students Union in London. As well as practising law, he was for a period of ten years a B.B.C. and freelance television broadcaster.

Mr. Adams became the General Secretary of his party, the Barbados Labour Party in 1965, and in 1971 he became the chairman and leader of that party. He has been the Member of Parliament for St. Thomas since 1966 and moved from Leader of the Opposition to the office of Prime Minister with an overwhelming plurality in the election of September 1976.

The Prime Minister lists as his leisure pursuits philately, gardening and being a spectator at cricket. This last interest is not surprising for in Barbados I understand cricket borders on being a religion.

Twenty years ago, Sir Grantley said to this club, and I quote ". . . there must be many of you to whom we are no more than a number of small dots on the map, with the names written in microscopic print." Well, Mr. Prime Minister, I can assure you that such is not the case today. Here in Toronto people of your country have enriched the ethnic mosaic of our city, a cricket match is indeed not an uncommon sight in our parks, the steel drum supplants the fife and drum, and the colourful Caribana Festival is as much an annual event as opening day at the ballpark. This is also the time of year when Canadians start to look longingly in your direction – to the sun, to the sea, to the sand. While we may not all have the opportunity to visit your pleasant shores, rest assured that through the appealing pages of the travel agents' brochures and maps, and the accolades of your visitors, we are very much aware of where Barbados is, along with its sunny neighbours in the Caribbean.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured at this time to present to you a great Commonwealth statesman, the Prime Minister of Barbados, Mr. John Adams, who will speak on contacts and relations between the island of Barbados and Canada.

MR. ADAMS:

Mr. President: I am pleased to be able to speak today to members of The Empire Club of Canada and to greet your past officers like Sir Arthur Chetwynd, whom I met during his recent visit to Barbados.

Twenty years ago, on October 23rd, 1958, to be exact, my father, the late Sir Grantley Adams, then Prime Minister of the West Indies, spoke at a luncheon in his honour at this club. He declared that he was almost frightened into declining the invitation to address the club when he learnt that it was composed of 2,500 of Toronto's leading business and professional men. How, he asked, was a mere politician to do justice to such an exalted audience?

That, I must confess, is almost exactly how I feel on this occasion. Like my father, however, I feel sufficiently at home in Canada to face the business and professional leaders of Toronto, if not with equanimity, at any rate with the knowl-

Left to right: The President, the Rt. Hon. J.M.G. Adams, Prime Minister of Barbados, Lloyd W. Perry, Q.C., Official Guardian for Ontario, S. Launi Taylor, High Commissioner for Barbados.

edge that I am speaking to members of a community which has historical and trading links with the West Indies, links that mean a great deal even to the most humble members of our Barbadian and West Indian society.

To start with the historical background – Canada, the Caribbean, and indeed the United States are inextricably linked together as being the areas of the first British ventures into colonial enterprise. Starting with Newfoundland in the fifteenth century and Bermuda a little later, the mariners and merchant venturers of England colonized and populated most of the North American mainland and many of the offshore islands, and came later by conquest into possession of colonies originally settled by France.

The balance of importance between islands and mainland has of course shifted over the centuries. It is a far cry from the days when Barbados, with an area of 430 square kilometres, was considered more important to Britain than New York, New

England and Pennsylvania combined, when Guadeloupe, a tiny island in the French Caribbean was deemed more valuable than this great country of Canada. Voltaire at the time described Canada as a "few acres of snow" and the critics pointed out that the latter boasted only of furs while Guadeloupe, like Barbados, produced "that article of luxury called 'sugar'."

King George III also expressed the contemporary wisdom when he too indicated his belief in the superior value of tropical islands as possessions rather than the often frozen wastes of undeveloped Canada. Fortunately, the United Empire Loyalists and the loyal colonies of Upper and Lower Canada and the Atlantic coast did not hold his preferences against him twenty years later!

One must admit that since Voltaire and George III the situation has changed considerably; but over the years, as the relative importance of the West Indies vis-à-vis Canada has declined, a long history of warm and friendly relations has developed between the great Dominion of the North and the territories, first British colonies and now for the most part independent countries of the Caribbean. In the early days these relations were encouraged by the shared history of the colonies or ex-colonies of the English portions of Canada and the island colonies such as Bermuda and Barbados whose traditions were wholly English in background. The independence of the United States not only drew closer together the remaining English settlements in North America, but also those settlements with the Caribbean and other British colonies in the remainder of the Western Hemisphere.

Trade relations developed early and the Atlantic provinces became suppliers of lumber and foodstuffs, notably salted cod and flour, to the Caribbean islands, taking in return sugar and rum. It has probably been Eastern Canada rather than the United States that has been the Americanizing influence on our use of language in the English-speaking islands, and joint membership first of the British Empire and now of the Commonwealth has been an ever-present factor in our supranational consciousness. Fellow feeling for the Commonwealth was carried to such extremes in Barbados that, until recently, a doctor who was qualified to practise in Canada was automatically admitted to practise in Barbados but one qualified in the United States, other than in the State of New York, was not. Until very recent immigration legislation, a Canadian citizen ordinarily resident for seven years in Barbados qualified as a "native of the Islands," a privilege denied to a citizen of the United States and other non-Commonwealth countries. And even now a Canadian citizen with the appropriate period of residence qualifies, along with other Commonwealth citizens, to vote in Barbados elections. I have a small number of Canadians in my own parliamentary constituency, and most of them give me every reason to believe that they vote for me!

My personal recollections of one of the principal links between Canada and Barbados go back to the days when this great Commonwealth country provided a vital communications service for the Caribbean. I refer to the Canadian National Steamship Services, which for many years linked not only Canada with the Caribbean but the various territories of our region with one another. If I may be pardoned another family reminiscence, my mother's memories go farther back and are even more vivid, for my grandfather – her father – was a member of a shipping firm and agency in Barbados which served as the agent for the C.N.S. line. Whenever one of the "lady boats," as they were called from the vessels' titles, came to Barbados, it became quite an occasion and my mother, even as a young girl, was involved in all the activities that took place. She, along with other school children, made several trips every year to one or other of the islands. And she recalls how many people, from the highest to the lowest in the social scale, availed themselves of this means of travel.

As long ago as 1937 I made my first sea voyage in the C.N.S. "Lady Nelson" to St. Vincent, our next-door island, and was suitably sad five years later when the ship fell victim to submarine attack. The only other modes of inter-island transport of those days were schooners and sloops, which did a yeoman service for those who were prepared to face the hazards of the sea on small sailing boats, but the "lady boats" were the accepted and only steamer service.

The sea communication which Canada for so many years provided for us was perhaps the most dramatic indication of the mutual interests which bound together the Dominion and ourselves. The trading relation which I referred to a moment ago went back to the eighteenth century and was in the classic pattern of two areas trading in complementary goods, exchanging northern products for those of the tropics. The consequent development of a Canadian shipping capacity to service this complementary trade thus owed a good deal to the West Indian connection.

The trade association continued through the nineteenth century, and in the atmosphere of deliberate promotion of Empire trade in the earlier part of our present century, a Canada-West Indies Trade Agreement was signed in 1925. The enabling legislation is still on our statute books in Barbados and makes interesting reading today. The contract was signed, in Canada's case, by the Right Honourable George Graham, James Robb, Thomas Low, William Motherwell, John Ewen Sinclair and Pierre Cardin, Ministers in the Dominion government of the time, and their full names and titles are still to be found in economic statute No. 14 of the current edition of *The Laws of Barbados.*

Canada has continued to be among the major trading partners of Barbados. An examination of the statistics relating to trade between Canada and Barbados reveals that in 1975 Canada supplied us with BDS$38 million of our imports. In 1976 that figure rose to BDS$40.7 million. In contrast to this, Barbados during that two-year period sold Canada a total of BDS$24.9 million of our goods. In 1977 trade declined slightly, with Barbados importing BDS$38.9 million of Canadian goods and selling Canada BDS$10.7 million worth of local produce in return.

Clearly, we must of necessity express some anxiety over this imbalance of trade which Barbados has suffered, for the trade deficits with Canada during the three years from 1975 to 1977 were successively $25.3 million, $28.5 million and $28.2 million, all in Barbados dollars. The patterns of Canadian goods involved continue to be concentrated on the areas of foodstuffs and manufactured goods, of which building materials are the most important.

Of our total imports from Canada during 1977, Barbados spent $13.7 million on food, while BDS$13.1 was spent on manufactured goods. The most important imports from Canada included such items as cereal flours, potatoes, salted fish, meat, textiles, wood, paper products and iron and steel bars.

Our exports to Canada have shown a shift of emphasis, with edible molasses and leather gloves being the most substantial items. Unfortunately, traditional exports such as sugar and rum have suffered a decline in the Canadian market in recent years, but we are not without hope that our energetic efforts to regain the market for rum will be crowned with success. And we are taking other steps to reduce this imbalance in terms of trade. To this end our Export Promotion Agency has become a member of the Canadian Importers Association. In addition, our High Commissioner in Canada has undertaken to monitor the interest shown by prospective importers and place Barbadian exporters in contact with relevant Canadian firms and companies.

I have spoken so far mainly about the trade relations which have existed for two hundred years between Canada and our islands in the Caribbean. Relations have not always been confined to exchanges of trade and in the political sphere Canada and the West Indian islands have also many contacts.

It was perhaps during the years immediately before and during the West Indian federal experiment that Canada took the liveliest interest in our political progress and welfare. Canada had gone through the difficult process of initiating a federation ninety years before and this made it the oldest Dominion and at the time the only independent Commonwealth country in the Western Hemisphere. For these reasons, traditional, political and economic, Canada's interest and attention in the 1950s focused on the forthcoming West Indies Federation, which was due to become her Commonwealth colleague on this side of the Atlantic. The interest was widespread. It was shown by government at more than one level, by academic institutions, and by private citizens showing the generosity of spirit and approach that has characterized Canadians in their dealings with us in the Caribbean. I will take one small example of the latter.

One of the most precious mementoes that can still be found in the house where I was born and brought up, is a finely wrought chair that once belonged to Sir John A. Macdonald, the first Prime Minister of Canada. It was given to my father by the Macdonald family and was presented on their behalf in 1957 by Professor and Mrs. Ian Campbell during the Mount Allison University Summer Institute seminar on "Canada and the West Indies Federation." This was of course a period when Canadian interest in the West Indies was at a peak, in the light of the imminence of the coming into being of our Federation.

It was during the same visit in 1957 that Sir Grantley addressed the Couchiching Conference sponsored by the Canadian Institute of Public Affairs and C.B.C. On that occasion he made a strong appeal for the closest possible ties between the West Indies and Canada. The following year he addressed an audience at the University of Manitoba on the subject of the West Indies Federation, and later that same year, October 1958, he was back again in Canada. This time he was on an official visit as Prime Minister of the West Indies whose federal government had been inaugurated earlier in 1958. On that occasion the then Prime Minister of Canada, the Hon. John Diefenbaker, and the Prime Minister of the West Indies signed an agreement providing ten million dollars in Canadian aid to the new Federation. That agreement included the giving of two passenger-cargo ships, the *Federal Palm* and the *Federal Maple*, which were estimated to cost six million dollars. These ships represented then and subsequently the only regular shipping connection between the constituent parts of the Federation.

That was the climax of Canadian support for the West Indies federal experiment. And there is no doubt whatever that the dissolution of the West Indies Federation after a short existence of four years was regarded by the peoples of Canada and the West Indies as a tragedy of the first magnitude.

Amid all the ruin that threatened the West Indies at that time one vital thing survived – the warm, personal friendship created during those vibrant years. Governor General Vincent Massey was and remained a good friend of Barbados, and paid frequent visits to the island which he found an ideal place for rest and recreation, for making new friends and renewing old friendships. And he was only one of many who helped to promote close personal friendships between Canadians and Barbadians.

John Diefenbaker also remained a close personal friend of our island and by his charm won the high regard of countless other Barbadians. Like Massey, he grew very fond of Barbadians and up to the present time visits us almost every year and finds the island the salubrious retreat where he can best write his books. He is not only a member of the local Bar of Barbados but actually attends professional and social functions related to lawyers. John Turner is also an honorary member of our local Bar and your present Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, has been a good friend to Barbados and has spent many vacations in the island.

With the passing of the years there has been no diminution in the interest of Canada in the welfare of Barbados and other territories of the Commonwealth Caribbean. Saguenay Terminal has taken the place of the Canadian National Steamships and links Halifax and Montreal with Barbados and Trinidad. Six Canadian airlines, scheduled and charter, are especially busy during the winter season, bringing 80,000 Canadian visitors to Barbados last year. These visitors have not only contributed to the foreign currency earnings of the island but, with characteristic spirit of the Dominion, have helped to promote friendly relations between all classes and sections of our society and have indeed played a notable part in breaking down racial barriers and promoting harmony among all sorts and conditions of our people. This is the benefit the Canadian people, of both French and English origin, have brought to Barbados in the field of tourism, a benefit that has proved of incalculable value to a society that was until recently one of the most socially stratified in the region.

Tourism is of special significance and importance to Barbados for a number of reasons. Barbados has a small, open economy which depends heavily on a number of factors beyond its control and is constantly faced with the problem of equating population pressure with economic opportunity. Tourism is vital to the island's economy as an important source of foreign exchange earnings. Canadians have for some years been the most numerous group of visitors to Barbados and their contribution in this area may be seen from the following figures. In 1974 a total of 230,718 visitors came to Barbados from all countries and of these 77,246 were Canadians. In 1975 out of a total of 221,576 visitors, 75,517 were Canadians. In 1976 the figures were 224,314 and 73,005 respectively, and in 1977 the number of Canadians coming to Barbados rose to a figure of 83,749 out of a total of 269,314 visitors.

This year we are expecting a record of more than 300,000 visitors and to the end of September Canada had already contributed almost 67,000 towards this number. The Barbados Board of Tourism proposes to meet the 300,000th visitor for 1978 and invite him and his party to enjoy their vacation free, and I very much hope that it will be one of our staunch Canadian friends who will win this bonanza.

In Barbados the importance of the industry can be seen in its contribution to employment, for over 10,000 persons or ten per cent of our labour force are employed directly or indirectly in tourism, and in foreign exchange, which should this year amount to over BDS$350 million.

In addition to the Canadians who visit our island, the government of Canada has assisted Barbados tourist development through the Canadian International Development Agency and the latest form of this assistance has been a $10 million loan for the construction of the new Air Terminal Building at Grantley Adams International Airport. This new terminal will help us to meet the steadily increasing volume of passengers and cargo that come to Barbados from every quarter of the globe.

Other benefits from Canada include technical assistance in the form of scholarships for training in hotel management and a grant by the International Development Research Centre of BDS$100,000 to facilitate a study of the economic impact of tourism on the island's economy. Perhaps I should add here that this is part of the overall funding of a regional Caribbean study.

The traffic has not all been one way. Private investment from Canada has found valuable areas of activity in tourist-related fields in Barbados that have been mutually beneficial. The level of Canadian investment in the hotel sector is such that at least ten of our larger hotels, containing nearly twenty per cent of the total number of hotel rooms in the island, are owned or controlled by Canadians. Then there is the overwhelming dominance of Canadian-owned carriers, both scheduled and non-scheduled, in the movement of passengers between the two countries. The importance of the island as a source of traffic to Canadian airline operators may best be shown by the fact that over sixty per cent of the scheduled traffic between Toronto, Montreal and Barbados is carried by Air Canada, and over eighty per cent of all traffic, scheduled and non-scheduled, to and from Canada and Barbados is carried by Canadian-owned carriers.

Apart from the tourist sector there is also much other Canadian investment in Barbados. Canadian banks, insurance companies and construction firms are all established in the island, some of them for a very long time. And it is not too much to hope that, in addition to Canadian firms already established, further industrial development will go forward in Barbados by means of joint ventures in which Barbadians and Canadians can participate, in addition to conventional direct investment programs.

Barbados has been pursuing a policy of industrialization over the past twenty-one years and the strides we have made in this direction are undeniable. In addition to items already mentioned, Barbados now exports a wide range of products such as furniture of various materials, garments, pharmaceuticals, canned and processed meats, cookware, gramophone records, computer components and batteries, to mention only a few, and manufacturing exports now exceed those of sugar and rum, for so long our principal foreign exchange earners in the export field. Significant development has also been made in the area of handicrafts, so important in a tourist economy.

To assist its program of industrialization, Barbados has set up branches of its Industrial Development Corporation in several cities in North America. The corporation seeks to inform businessmen of the attractive investment possibilities in Barbados. One favourable circumstance is the island's stable political and economic climate, and Barbados of course offers the usual concessions such as tax holidays, duty-free importation of raw materials and factory space at low rental charges. We also have a highly literate and industrious labour force as a principal attraction, but we are not one of those developing countries which concentrate on offering cheap labour as our only advantage. For one thing, with Barbados now among the first ten in developing countries in per capita income, labour is no longer all that cheap – something which the government welcomes as evidence of social progress. For another, we are concentrating on *skill-intensive industries*, and offering the benefit of literacy and discipline to overseas investors who wish to train and use a work force that can respond to opportunity. We are happy to say that this policy has met with success and that in the manufacturing field, by marrying Canadian technology with wage rates that are lower, skill for skill, than in Canada, a number of Canadian firms have been operating in Barbados highly satisfactorily. The best known to us and probably the largest in terms of local operation is the firm of Coopers, which specializes in sporting goods and has been manufacturing ice hockey equipment for export to Canada. The success of its operations is leading to expansion at its Barbados plant, and certainly one of the most encouraging signs in our industrial climate in recent times has been the disclosure by Jack Cooper, who is one of the most active and popular of our overseas investors, that workers on his Barbados production line are as skilful as any in the world and indeed exceed the productivity achieved in his Canadian factories. The success achieved in training in skills by Cooper Canada Ltd. has been matched by the success of computer component operations set up by leading manufacturers from what has come to be known as Silicon Valley in California. These companies too have found that our people possess very high capacity for training, and very significant expansions are also in prospect in their operations.

The traffic in skill is not confined to activity in our island itself, since Canada has been for some years a magnet for Barbadian would-be immigrants and migrant workers.

Barbadians continue to secure employment on a seasonal basis with Canadian farmers, though, regrettably, the level of such employment has declined since 1975. Happily, Canada's Minister of Employment and Immigration, when he visited Barbados in March this year, signed a Memorandum of Understanding along with our Minister of Labour, providing for an annual intake of agricultural workers and an extension of the scheme to other than traditional occupations. It was also agreed that every effort would be made not to reduce the total number of workers to be engaged below those engaged during the period 1974-76.

In addition to migrant workers, Canada has also absorbed considerable numbers of semi-permanent and permanent immigrants from Barbados in the last ten to fifteen years. All professions and occupations are represented, and we are amused when we read of Europeans complaining of the "brain drain" to North America when we discover that there are many more, perhaps twice as many, Barbadian doctors in North America than there are in Barbados. Barbadians teach at your Canadian universities, work in business and in the professions, are employed as engineers, secretaries and in other areas where Canada needs skills. Our population pressures are high, although the rate of growth is now at about the same level as that of most developed countries, less than one per cent per annum and falling steadily. It is therefore with ambivalence that we view any exodus from the island; on the one hand we are glad to have emigration as an outlet for our problems of unemployment – running at twelve per cent at last count this year. On the other we are sorry to lose our skilled citizens to the attractions of the higher rewards of North America.

Nonetheless the traditional friendship of Canada and Barbados is probably cemented by the existence of so many of our citizens among you, enjoying all that is good and decent and progressive in Canadian society. It should come as no surprise therefore that many Barbadians at home see the future of our country firmly bound to the progress made by your great country.

I have spoken at some length about areas of technical and other co-operation between our two countries and the social links that have united us. It should now be clear to all that countries which differ so vastly in size as Canada and Barbados do not necessarily construct their international policies upon mere geographic considerations. If this were so, I fear that Canada and Barbados would remain permanently divided.

But instead, Canada continues to be sympathetic and understanding towards Barbados' situation. Canada prefers to translate its progressive thinking into positive contributions towards our needs as a developing nation.

The stage of international politics is, however, crowded with many small nations who seek to project themselves upon the world. Old values have given way to the new dimensions of national economic development more so than ideological kinship, important though this often is. For its own part Barbados is not the least bit interested in international posturing. Rather, we are concerned with enhancing the quality of life of our citizens and reinforcing relationships, such as we enjoy with Canada, which have proved to be of mutual benefit.

The role of the powerful nations must now therefore be redefined to recognize the chasm that divides those who have from those who have not, and must seek to inspire a new concept of international relations which can lead to a new and better world for present and future generations.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Sir Arthur R.T. Chetwynd, Bt., a Past President of The Empire Club of Canada.

NOVEMBER 30, 1978

A Time for Fiscal Responsibility

AN ADDRESS BY The Honourable Sterling R. Lyon, PREMIER OF MANITOBA

CHAIRMAN The President, Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Mr. Premier, distinguished guests, members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: In October of last year Manitobans elected a Conservative government. In that election, the Conservatives captured forty-nine per cent of the popular vote. That is the largest election majority chalked up in recent Manitoba history. The dynamic politician who led the Tories to their stunning victory was, of course, our guest speaker today, the Honourable Sterling Lyon.

The Premier of Manitoba grew up in Portage la Prairie. He has been characterized by a writer as "a red-headed bantam who scrapped his way through school." In any event it was a successful method for he graduated from Portage High School with a Governor General's medal and a university scholarship. Following university and law school he was called to the Bar in 1953.

Five years later, Premier Lyon became a Member of the Legislative Assembly. He spent the next ten years as an elected provincial politician. During this time he served in no less than six different ministries under Premier Duff Roblin, and as Attorney General at thirty-one he was the youngest cabinet minister in the Roblin government.

Mr. Lyon did not contest the 1969 election and returned to the practice of law. But he re-entered the political stage in 1975 on being elected leader of the Manitoba Progressive Conservative Party. In October 1977, campaigning on a platform of less government and more private initiative, his party swept into power. And Mr. Lyon was sworn into the office of Premier on October 26th of last year.

In the last thirteen months Premier Lyon has rarely been out of the news. In listening more to the grass roots majority than the vocal minority, he has changed the Manitoba political scene. It is a change that has earned him the warm admiration of the right and the scorn of the left.

Sterling Lyon is a vocal politician who says what he thinks. He has said "the public sector is on trial." He has said that the federal government is "spending like drunken sailors." He criticizes socialists for their "ideological silliness." He is pitiless in his attempts to reduce what he terms "the maw; the animal" – in short the government bureaucracy.

It is not difficult to see how the strong words of our speaker could result in a polarization of opinion – not only in his own province but across the nation.

There is no doubt he voices the concerns of many Canadians who fear big government as the root cause of many of our economic ills. And these are fears that are fed on the bureaucratic indifference enunciated in the recent Auditor General's report.

However we view the politics and strong words of Sterling Lyon, we must admire the character, courage and leadership of the man. He not only utters words, he backs them up with action.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasure to present to you the Honourable Sterling Lyon, Premier of the Province of Manitoba, who is telling us it is "A Time for Fiscal Responsibility."

Mr. Premier.

PREMIER LYON:

I'm on my way home from a conference of First Ministers in Ottawa in which we talked of our economy. At that conference we made it clear that as long as the policies of the federal government persist, in terms of excessive deficits, of regulative interferences like the Foreign Investment Review Agency, of policies of taxation on the resource industries that ignore the risks involved in those industries, of monetary policy that is established without reference to the effects of changing interest rates on the regions of Canada, our ability to grow in Manitoba will be hindered.

We made it clear, too, that we find it strange that a federal government corporation, Petrocan, is able to raise $700 million to $1 billion to buy an oil company – and it should be noted that changing the ownership of that company will not create a single additional barrel of oil, or cubic foot of gas, or job in Canada – but the government is unable to find the resources to tackle the inability of our grain marketing and transportation system.

We hear a great deal about the need to stimulate a wide range of Canadian industries, including a number of industries for which there may not necessarily exist markets at the present time. We support many of those pleas for stimulation. But in agriculture, which is still Manitoba's greatest source of wealth, where we have assured markets, where we have positive advantages in terms of productivity at the farm level, we are simply not able to move the grain to meet our commitments. In the last year, Canada lost a minimum of $350 million in sales. That works out to about $2,400 per farmer.

But really . . . how can anyone have any faith in a federal government that lets Otto Lang buy another airline?*

At this economic conference, as in the early conferences of First Ministers we held last February, there was a general agreement that one of the first and most critical steps in dealing with our economic problems was to establish prudence in the management of the public finances of Canada and of each of the provinces of Canada.

Let me tell you about the steps we have been taking in Manitoba to live up to that agreement. But first let me try to put these changes into context for you. As I am sure you know, from 1969 until just about exactly one year ago, in 1977, Manitoba had a socialist government.

**Editor's Note*: The Honourable Otto E. Lang, Member of Parliament for Saskatoon-Humboldt, Saskatchewan, was the Minister of Transport at the time.

The Honourable Sterling R. Lyon,
Premier of Manitoba

Like a great many other governments in recent years, that socialist government in Manitoba began to tax and to borrow and to spend and to legislate its way into more and more parts of our total life in Manitoba. It used the taxpayers' money to buy farms, to set up state-owned businesses, government mineral exploration companies, legislation that forced those who discovered minerals in Manitoba to accept the government as an equity partner. And perhaps most fundamental of all the changes that government attempted to make in Manitoba was its approach to the redistribution of income. It had, as a stated objective of its policies, not simply achieving minimum levels of income that would permit even the poorest person in Manitoba to live with security and dignity. Its policy instead was to use its tax system to put a ceiling on incomes – to enforce a sterile kind of equality of income rather than striving for an equality of opportunity.

The basic formula was spelled out by the N.D.P. Premier of Manitoba. He said that no one in Manitoba should be permitted to earn an income that was more than two and one-half times as large as some sort of composite average income.

And I think in that is where the N.D.P. most misread the nature of the people of Manitoba. In effect, their government asked Manitobans to accept for themselves and for their children a climate in which *the most* anyone could aspire to in material terms was some government-determined maximum income. They asked Manitobans to settle for a ladder of success, with only two and one-half rungs on it.

And then came the election of 1977.

In that election, our party made a very short list of promises. The promises we were making were, at that time, not really considered to be very fashionable. We promised to reduce taxes. We promised to reduce the rate at which Manitoba was being thrown into debt by deficit government financing. We promised to control the growth of the civil service. We promised to restrain and to reverse the interferences of government in the private lives or enterprises of Manitobans.

We won that election. On October 11, 1977, we received a greater share of the popular vote cast in Manitoba than any party in the modern history of our province has ever received. And, after our election, a very strange thing began to happen across Canada: it began to be fashionable to talk about fiscal responsibility and prudence in public spending. Some of the most unlikely people began to speak about the need to control government spending.

It's gotten so bad that by now, listening to the announcements coming out of Ottawa, I'm beginning to think we should have copyrighted some of the statements and speeches we made over the past three years.

In Manitoba, for instance, people knew that under the N.D.P. the civil service had been growing almost twenty times as quickly as the population. Plain common sense says that's just not necessary.

In Manitoba, for instance, people know that under the N.D.P. the provincial government's share of the total wealth of the province had increased from less than twelve per cent in 1969 to more than eighteen per cent just eight years later. Plain common sense was enough to recognize that there was no corresponding increase in benefit to the people of Manitoba from that growth.

But most fundamentally of all, people in Manitoba decided that they were just not ready to break the chain of achievement that has seen each generation pass on more to their children than they started out with. They were not prepared to break that chain of achievement in favour of the kind of sterile and envy-ridden preoccupation with the redistribution of existing wealth that was all the N.D.P. had to offer.

Instead, Manitobans voted for a climate of aspiration. They instructed us, through their votes, to begin work to create the kind of economic and political climate that will encourage risk-taking and that will permit us once more to increase our wealth as a community.

And that is what we have been working to achieve in our first year in office.

Let me tell you some of the things we have done.

My first action as Premier of Manitoba was to appoint a Task Force to review government organization and economy, involving, I should add, literally hundreds of hours of donated time from people throughout the private sector, with the single intent of making sure that our government operated as efficiently as possible. We have already begun the reorganization of our government based on the recommendations of that Task Force.

In our first budget, we reduced the rate of tax on small businesses by fifteen per cent. We removed more than sixty per cent of the businesses in Manitoba from the requirement of paying corporation capital taxes. We reduced the personal income tax. We abolished succession duties and gift taxes. Manitoba, incidentally, had the most punitive succession duties in Canada – succession duties that even taxed estates passing between spouses. We also took part in the short-term sales tax reduction programme.

The net effect of these tax cuts was to reduce our revenues by $83 million.

But the key to the direction our government has taken is that we did not finance our tax cuts, as the federal government is financing the reductions in its last budget, by increasing our deficit. We made those tax reductions in the same budget that we reduced our inherited deficit from $214 million on a combined current and capital basis to just $131 million on a combined basis.

Once again, to give you some standard of comparison, I can tell you that a proportional federal reduction in the size of the deficit would call for over $4 billion less borrowing by the federal government this year.

Our tax reductions were financed and our program of deficit reduction was made possible because we have controlled government spending. We have budgeted for an increase in spending of three per cent. That is the lowest rate of growth in spending of any government in Canada. And we have reduced the size of our civil service by thirteen per cent during our first twelve months in office. There are about 1,800 fewer civil servants on the public payroll in Manitoba today than there were twelve months ago – a reduction achieved mostly by attrition.

Once again, to give you some sense of the scope of these reductions, I can tell you that a proportionate cut in the federal civil service would call for the elimination of funding for about 55,000 positions.

In other words, we have moved quite quickly and today government in Manitoba is taxing less, borrowing less and, in real terms, spending less than it was twelve months ago.

What are the effects of our program of fiscal responsibility on the essential services of government in Manitoba? What are the effects of our approach on the ability of Manitoba's economy to create the jobs and opportunities our people need?

The answers to those questions are going to be critically important, not just in Manitoba over the next number of years but across Canada, as people assess the feasibility of making do with less government taxing and borrowing and spending and regulation.

Let's talk about those questions. Of course, after only one year in office, most of the evidence is still very preliminary. But let's talk about the early indicators.

There is absolutely no evidence that there has been any measurable reduction in the quality or the availability of essential government services in Manitoba. And I should also stress that there has been no return to the use of premiums for financing health care. In other words, it appears that the taxing and borrowing and spending that we have curtailed caused no measurable diminution in the quality or availability of essential services in Manitoba.

Of course, those who advocate government spending would argue that, in addition to the provision of services, this spending provides an essential impetus to the economy.

According to this argument, the kinds of reductions we have made in Manitoba will cripple the ability of our economy to create wealth, jobs and opportunities. That, incidentally, is exactly the kind of snake oil salesmanship the N.D.P. are using across this country.

But what is the real situation in Manitoba?

Well . . . it is not as good as I would like it to be.

There are roughly 30,000 people out of work in my province. And, because we are finding it difficult to create new jobs quickly enough to accommodate the increasing size of our labour force, our rate of unemployment is increasing – although it is the third lowest in Canada.

But the question, of course, is to what extent are these problems caused by the reductions we have made in the taxing and borrowing and spending of government?

Let's look at the evidence. Let's compare our record of job creation with that of the previous government. In the last year of the N.D.P. government in Manitoba, for each hundred people who entered the labour force, there were only twenty-nine new jobs created.

In our first year as government, for each hundred people who entered the labour force our economy has been able to create fifty-six jobs. That is still not good enough – but it is vastly superior to the record of the last government. In fact, if you compare the actual number of jobs created in Manitoba during our first year in office with the record of the previous government in Manitoba, you will find that there have been as many new jobs created in this single year as were created in the entire last three years of the N.D.P.

In other words, the evidence suggests that, far from crippling the ability of our economy to create jobs, the program of fiscal prudence that our government is following is acting as a spur to the economy.

The early indicators are that the program is correct – that it does permit our economy to function more effectively.

But I am not here to tell you that this means that all our economic problems are solved in Manitoba.

We have taken the critical first step to overcoming our economic problems in the establishment of a prudent approach to public finance. Some of the additional steps that are needed can also be taken by government.

Government, for example, can play a major role in solving our grain transportation problems. The biggest single development opportunity in Manitoba is in the public sector in the form of hydro-electric potential – and we will be talking closely to Ontario about how the construction of generating facilities can provide needed orders for Ontario manufacturers as well as a basis for expanded manufacturing capability in Manitoba.

But the basic lesson we have all learned is that government can't do it all alone. We will continue to review our programs of taxation and legislation to assure that we place no unnecessary impediments in the way of enterprise in our province.

But the crucial next steps require the private sector to respond – with investment and with increased business activity in Manitoba. It is up to the private sector to create the jobs, to build the homes, to provide the other goods people need, and to create the wealth.

And so I am saying to the business community – to you, and through you to as many others as you can reach – that in Manitoba, government is doing its part.

But we are a proving ground, in which the ability of the private sector to create opportunities will be evaluated – not simply by Manitobans, but by people across Canada.

Our success or failure at meeting the economic challenges that face us in Manitoba over the next few years will have implications far beyond our own borders. I believe we are on the right track – that the steps we are taking are logical and prudent steps that will contribute to our general prosperity and that will help to restore faith generally in the private sector in Canada.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Colonel R.H. Hilborn, M.V.O., M.B.E., C.D., a Past President of The Empire Club of Canada.

DECEMBER 7, 1978

1979 — The Year of the Referendum

AN ADDRESS BY Peter Desbarats,
OTTAWA BUREAU CHIEF,
GLOBAL TELEVISION NETWORK

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Distinguished guests, members, and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: Peter Desbarats is a frequent visitor to most of our homes. The familiar face and voice on our television screen are guarantees that the events of the day are being reported intuitively and with authority. They are also being reported from a background of hard work and experience; and also with a varied, proven and creative communications artistry in the spoken and written word.

Mr. Desbarats has had a most interesting and colourful career leading up to his present post as Ottawa Bureau Chief for the Global Television Network. He started off his career in journalism with the Canadian Press in Montreal. He worked for the *Montreal Gazette*, with Reuters News Agency in the United Kingdom, and as a political reporter for the *Winnipeg Tribune* and the *Montreal Star*. He joined Global Television from the *Toronto Star* where he was Ottawa editor and a nationally syndicated columnist.

Mr. Desbarats comes by his journalistic talents naturally. His great grandfather published the *Canadian Illustrated News*, the first post-Confederation newsmagazine and about which Mr. Desbarats has written a history. Our speaker's articles have appeared in such diversified periodicals as the *National Observer*, the *Times, Reader's Digest, Weekend Magazine*, and *Maclean's*. And at the moment Mr. Desbarats is working on a history of political cartooning in Canada in collaboration with Terry Mosher of the *Montreal Gazette*.

In his present appointment with Global News, Mr. Desbarats reports on national political developments. He provides a daily political commentary as part of the Global newscast and he hosts a weekly interview program called "In Private Life." This work with Global brought him an ACTRA Award as best news-broadcaster in 1977.

Mr. Desbarats is Montreal born. Indeed his broadcasting career began with the CBC in that city. While with CBC he did three major hour-long documentaries: "A History of Separatism in Quebec," "A History of the October Crisis," and a study of a separatist community in Montreal's east end. Amongst the books he has authored are the major work *The State of Quebec*, which was published in 1965, and also the best seller *René: A Canadian in Search of a Country.*

It is fitting that with this background and as the last speaker of our 1978 program before we enter the new year Mr. Desbarats has chosen to speak to us on "1979 – The Year of the Referendum." Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to present to you Mr. Peter Desbarats, Ottawa Bureau Chief for Global Television.

MR. DESBARATS:

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am feeling suddenly very ancient this lunch hour. When I started covering politics, as Mr. Lewis has mentioned, in Winnipeg in the late fifties, the first politician in my experience of my own age was Ed Schreyer. And I now realize that I belong to the generation from which they pick governors general.

I would also like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for getting the title of the speech accurately. It reminded me of a meeting I had yesterday with Don McSween, the director of the National Arts Centre in Ottawa. He showed me a letter he had received. He has been delivering a number of speeches in western Canada recently, one of them to a luncheon club in Victoria. The title of the speech, which he gave in a number of cities, was "Artists

EMPIRE CLUB

Peter Desbarats, Ottawa Bureau Chief, Global Television Network

and their Love Affairs." Before he arrived in Victoria he received a letter from one of the executives of the club pointing out the fact that the club had two characteristics – one of them was that they liked speeches to relate to British Columbia somehow. He also said that most of their members were over sixty-five years of age. So he had taken the liberty of changing the title of the speech and it was being publicized as "Artists and their Love Affair with B.C."

I am going to speak on 1979 as the year of the referendum in Quebec and I think that standing on the brink of 1979 is a good platform for me. It's going to be an important year in the political development of Canada, and political events often express deeper changes. Speculating about these changes is my everyday business but for the past few weeks, with this occasion in mind, I have been taking a closer and, I hope, more consistent look at some of my own ideas. That has been useful for me and I can already say quite sincerely that I am grateful for the invitation to speak today. I hope that you will be able to say as much in a few minutes, and if you can't, I'm not too sure what you can do about it. I'll know that I'm in trouble if I see many of you reaching automatically to change the channel, but for once you can't switch me off. You can't go out to the kitchen for a beer if you get bored and for the next while even the almighty television commercial isn't going to interrupt me. For a television commentator, this is power – to be able to see a captive audience and to be able to talk for more than ninety seconds – so I'll try not to abuse it.

This is going to be quite personal. Unlike many of your speakers, I don't represent a special interest. I certainly don't speak on behalf of Global Television. I don't represent a business or a political organization – it might be easier if I did. Someone else then could have written this for me and all of us now would feel pleasantly cradled in the arms of a familiar ritual. I don't feel at all comfortable at the moment as I prepare to explore a few ideas about Canada that probably will reveal as much about myself and my own attitudes as they reveal about the state of the nation. I think I realize in advance that many of these attitudes will not coincide with yours, and I regard that as probably healthy and useful for both of us.

Pessimism about Canada seems to be in fashion. It may be caused partly by negative reporting by the news media, something that people often complain to me about. But the sense of foreboding runs much deeper than that. Among Canadian best sellers of recent years have been a number of imaginative projections of national disaster based on Quebec separating from the rest of Canada. Among the prophets of doom who have used popular fiction to express their views is one of our most eminent historians, Donald Creighton, whose reading of current trends against his unparalleled knowledge of their historical background has led him into an almost unrelieved despair about our future. Creighton and others who think like him see the development of the new Quebec nationalism and stronger regional identities in Canada as steps toward the disintegration of a strong Canadian nation.

These doubts about our national future assail us at a time when the economic reality of the country is changing. Most of us belong to a generation that has regarded constant improvement in our standard of living as the normal state of affairs. The energy crisis changed that drastically. Even when the prospect of oil and gas shortages receded from the immediate into the distant future, existence remained more expensive and competitive. We have all become aware of it in a variety of ways – the grocery and heating bills, the son or daughter who finds it difficult to find work after leaving school, the civil servants in Ottawa who are discovering that government employment isn't as secure as they had always thought, restrictions in government services while tax bills continue to increase, holidays abroad that we still take almost from force of habit but that now seem to cost appalling amounts of money. No matter how our public officials juggle statistics, they can't disguise the fact that real incomes have declined in Canada in recent years. We now have to work harder if we want merely to maintain the standard of living that we have come to regard as essential.

Uneasiness about our political and our economic future coincides with and perhaps contributes to a growing sense of conservatism. The so-called taxpayers' revolt in the United States is a symptom of this. It is a revolution that looks not to the future but to the past. Its spirit is essentially selfish. While there is a great deal of waste in government, as in any human activity, the big increases in government spending in our generation have been the result of idealistic attempts to create a better and more equitable society. In health schemes, unemployment insurance, larger and more accessible universities, and many other endeavours, we have tried to implement the biblical ideal of being our brother's keeper. At least some of the current campaigns against big government spring from much meaner motives.

We can see the same conservative spirit in many areas of activity, including my own. I was reminded of this the other day as I talked with a frustrated information officer for the federal Advisory Council on the Status of Women. A few years ago women's rights was a fashionable news subject, along with freedom from censorship, changes in laws governing sexual practices, social justice for minority groups, reform of universities, and other objectives of the radical Left. Well, no longer. The Advisory Council on the Status of Women now has an extremely difficult time persuading the media to take an interest in stories that would have had strong appeal only a few years ago. Business interests, on the other hand, suddenly have become respectable in the news room. The executive in the grey flannel suit has replaced the hippie in the guest chair on television interview programs.

This conservatism is a North American fashion but Canadians I think are more comfortable within it than they were in the beads and bangles of the sixties. It has often been said that we are a cautious and reserved people who place greater trust in our leaders and our institutions than Americans do in theirs. If that produces less innovation in politics, and perhaps in scientific and business activities, it gives us the benefits of a remarkably stable society, and Canadians appreciate that. Opinion polls often show that despite our complaining we are well aware of our good fortune and are anxious to preserve it. Like many conservatives, small "c" conservatives, we also have a strong romantic streak within us. We yearn for an ideal country, where all our endless differences are reconciled, and we grow impatient with our inability to achieve it. When this frustration coincides with an uncertain political climate, with a troubled economy, and a spirit of social conservatism, the three characteristics that I have been talking about, there is real danger that the national mood will sour and that the spirit of compromise that has kept us together may weaken. Simple solutions to difficult problems would then seem attractive. The supple national fabric that we have constructed with so much difficulty would start to harden and grow brittle.

I believe that this *is* an extremely critical time, the climax of several decades of swift change. It's all coming together in the next year or so in a sort of unofficial national referendum that is much more complex than the elaborate opinion poll that Quebec intends to hold. It's coming together at a time when many of us have almost lost patience with the struggles of the past twenty years – struggles that are already becoming irrelevant to some extent to our sons and daughters. When I do submit to pessimism these days it's because I'm afraid that we could give up so easily at this point and waste the efforts of an entire generation, and that's what I am going to elaborate on a little bit.

Our generation is a product of the sixties, to a greater or lesser extent. Looking back, the sixties often seems to have been a self-indulgent time during a period of increasing prosperity. Many of the experts told us that we would continue indefinitely to earn more for working less and that occupying our leisure time would become one of the major concerns of the future. Opting out of the normal routine of work and social obligations seemed to be almost a virtuous response to these new conditions. The state-supported idler became the man of the future. It was an easy age to caricature in this fashion, but there was a deeper side to it. Beneath all the beads there was a genuine sense of optimism in the sixties; there was a new appreciation of some simple truths. *Love* became an overworked word but at least it was an improvement over the slogans that had marched previous generations into two world wars. Young people refused to accept the questionable conventions of an older generation and did their own thing – to use a phrase that rapidly created its own conformity. Above all there was a belief that life could change for the better.

This spirit took different forms in different countries. In the United States there was self-awareness and a growing sense of determination among various minority groups. Blacks in the U.S. became more aware of their origins and the conditions of their existence, more militant in their demands. The poor asked that their children have at least a chance to escape from the ghettos of most modern cities. Even among the middle and upper classes a surprising number of young people renounced the values of their parents and dedicated themselves, at least for a time, to working for the improvement of others, at home and in other countries. This mood was so strong that governments responded by organizing movements like the Peace

Corps in the U.S. Politicians who expressed it and symbolized it became loved and idealized to a greater extent than any peacetime leaders in American history – and of course Kennedy was the main example of that.

Canadians felt the same influences and responded in much the same way. In retrospect, Lester B. Pearson appears to have expressed the spirit of the sixties more effectively than the millionaire who took the country by storm in 1968. Under Pearson, imaginative social schemes – the hospital plan, the Canada Pension Plan – came into existence. There was an abortive attempt to reform federal-provincial relations and a move toward giving more formal recognition to Quebec's special place in Confederation. The Company of Young Canadians was created as a domestic version of the Peace Corps, and other imaginative government programmes were started to encourage local and individual initiative with as little interference as possible from the bureaucrats. When Pearson was succeeded by Trudeau there was no further advance in any of these directions, although the illusion of progress that the Prime Minister generated concealed this from many of us. Many of these activities were reflected in other Western countries.

In Canada, the influence of the sixties manifested itself powerfully and distinctively by a combination of circumstances in the province of Quebec. This was partly accidental. In the first year of the decade, following the death of Maurice Duplessis, there was a change of political leadership, as you all know. New figures, René Lévesque among them, soon appeared in a provincial cabinet bursting with ideas that *seemed* revolutionary in the context of the old Duplessis government but that by then had in fact become acceptable to most Quebeckers. The first separatist parties were formed in the sixties to preach the political independence of Quebec, an old and rather quaint idea that gained new force by adapting the national liberation rhetoric of Africa, Asia, and Latin America to Canadian conditions. The movement even had its own small version of the terrorist organizations that had preceded the independence of many former colonies overseas.

Of far more importance was the fact that the whole province of Quebec in the early sixties suddenly went "out of synch," to use a television term, with the rest of the country. It started to develop at a different pace and its essential nature began to change. Nothing else that has happened in this country in our generation equals that development. In terms of impact on our national life, we are still a long way from coming to terms with it but, unfortunately, not a long way from having to deal with it.

For centuries, Quebec had never been a full and willing participant in our national life. The shock of the British victory in 1759 and separation from France was followed by a long period of mutual suspicion between French and English. Confederation, for many French-speaking Canadians, was at best a necessary expedient. There was little sea-to-sea idealism in Quebec about the new nation and even less within a few years of Confederation when English-speaking Canadians made it clear that they intended to stake out exclusive rights in the western provinces. These changes, however, had been absorbed by the first half of this century and the co-existence of English and French, despite tense moments during the world wars, assumed a fairly static form.

Within Quebec there was a long period of relative stability; economic and social conditions between the two main groups in the province didn't change very much for a while. English and French lived in their separate worlds in Quebec. They respected the differences that separated them. They took pride in their own traditions and achievements, they regarded one another in the main without hostility, and even with some affection. No one has yet written a sympathetic history of this period in Quebec or done justice to the energy, creativity and colourful personalities of English-speaking Quebec. As I said to a group in Quebec City last year – when that aspect of Quebec's history can be written accurately but sympathetically by French-speaking Quebeckers it will be conclusive evidence of maturity.

When my parents were growing up in Montreal, most English-speaking people there assumed that their comfortable world would last forever. At the same time, without realizing it, they were doing their best to destroy it. The people who paved the way for change in Quebec were not the nationalist priests and professors of the *collèges* but entrepreneurs like my Scottish grandfather who came to the city with almost nothing, started businesses and factories, and employed French Canadian workers who came into Montreal from rural Quebec.

Gradually, the ethnic balance in Montreal shifted toward the French, as French Canada itself shifted from a rural and conservative society to an urban society with typically North American aspirations. In the sixties French-speaking Quebeckers, or more accurately, French-speaking Montrealers, were no longer content to have their progress dependent on the goodwill of their English-speaking neighbours. They began to force the pace.

At first, optimists on both sides – and I have to include myself among them in the early sixties – felt that mutual development was possible, but that wasn't realistic. Eventually it became clear that gains by the French-speaking group would be made to some extent at the expense of English-speaking Montrealers. And this has happened. If anyone in this country has reason to complain about developments in the past twenty years it is the English-speaking population of Quebec – wherever they happen to be today. Many of them felt that they had to leave Quebec. So many have settled in this city that I was told last year of the existence of a suburban group calling itself the F.L.Q. – Former Loyal Quebeckers – or something like that. Those who stayed saw their business activities curtailed, their community institutions starved for funds, and the value of their homes decline. These have been the real victims of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec.

I don't want to exaggerate the extent of the sacrifices in Westmount but, believe me, they have been real. And as someone raised in that community and aware of its efforts to adapt I have little patience sometimes with my English-speaking compatriots in other cities who complain loudly about the inconvenience and expense of introducing a French-language television station, or providing French-language courts and other services for their own French-speaking communities.

I have always felt that the economic and social struggle between English and French in Montreal was at the heart of the problem that has obsessed us nationally for the past two decades. Montreal had to become essentially a French-speaking city before Quebeckers could discuss realistically the position of Quebec within Confederation. It was all the more difficult because this took place at a time when the economic influence of the city was declining, for reasons that in some cases had nothing to do with politics, reasons that Toronto can now appreciate as it watches the economic centre of Canada continue to move westward and as it competes against the growing economic and financial power of the cities in western Canada.

The economic relationship of English and French in Montreal not only had to change but it had to be seen to be changing. Economists can analyze the financial shifts more accurately than I can, but perceiving the psychology of social behaviour is supposed to be one of my skills. In French-speaking Montreal for the past two decades everything can be understood in relationship to the development of the new sense of pride.

I can remember René Lévesque telling me years ago about the shock of his first exposure to Montreal as a new arrival from the Gaspé when he discovered that the metropolis of Quebec was at heart an English-speaking city. English was heard everywhere but in the east end. The city even looked English. Eliminating English signs by legislation may seem absurd to the rest of North America but it is a matter of pride in Quebec. And I have always felt, as an English-speaking Montrealer, that we should respect that.

The same sense of pride explained the city's commitment to the Olympic Games and its continued attachment to a mayor who blatantly mishandled the planning and organization of those Games. Jean Drapeau perhaps had a great deal to learn about monumental architecture and construction, but no one could teach him anything about the psychology of Montrealers. The Olympic Games, like Expo '67, gave Montreal a sense of pride and purpose at a time when these attributes were literally invaluable to the city. Even today, when the record of mismanagement is clear, it is difficult to say conclusively that the money lavished on the Olympics in Montreal was not well spent, as far as Montreal was concerned.

This sense of pride has much to do with Prime Minister Trudeau's continued popularity in Quebec. If it achieved nothing else the recent Economic Summit in Ottawa demonstrated the political vitality of Quebec in the past two decades. There a French Canadian Prime Minister, flanked by the first French Canadian Finance Minister in our history, backed by a federal civil service that contains a significant number of French Canadian bureaucrats, also for the first time in our history, confronted ten provinces whose main spokesman on many contentious issues was the Premier of Quebec. Over the past two decades French Canadians have had good value from their politicians, both in Ottawa and in Quebec. And if I were a French-speaking Quebec voter in the next few years I would be tempted to ignore conflicting ideologies and to cast a strong nationalist vote in Quebec and a strong federalist vote in federal elections. It may not be logical but it certainly works.

The Economic Summit, and the Constitutional Summit that preceded it, illuminated some of the changes that have occurred in the past two decades. There are some who believe the change has been for the worst, that federal authority has been dangerously weakened and that this reflects a deterioration in our national will. I don't believe it. My own experience in the sixties convinced me that change was inevitable. If political and economic changes had not started to occur then, if the forces of action and reaction had hardened at that time, we might well have continued along the road to violent revolution instead of drawing back almost before we had set foot on it.

In 1970 we had a taste of what violent upheaval in Quebec would mean to the rest of Canada. And those in English Canada who today still preach isolationism from events in Quebec should imagine the effects that a real rupture with Quebec would have on their own society. Far greater than economic losses would be the loss of that spirit of pragmatic tolerance that is one of our more distinctive national traits. Ethnic minorities in English-speaking Canada, often unsympathetic to

Quebec's aspirations, also might worry about their own future in the aftermath of an embittered breakdown of Confederation. But instead of following this rigid course we have adapted, somewhat, to new conditions, and it hasn't been easy – we all know that. Some very basic human emotions are involved.

It's significant that our politicians often talk about French-English or Quebec-Canada relations in terms of marriage. It's an emotional as well as a political relationship and it has its emotional ups and downs. Right now I think that many Canadians are feeling discouraged about the union. Most of us aren't thinking about divorce at this point but about something perhaps even worse – an unproductive relationship that continues because neither side has the courage to separate. When we contemplate that a feeling of desperation grips us. Part of the problem is intellectual and emotional exhaustion. We are nearing the end of a political cycle in Quebec, I believe, and the end of this particular cycle of the Quebec problem in Canada. Our patience is also almost at an end. Our national attention span has been stretched beyond the limit. We desperately want something to happen that we can recognize as conclusive after all the agony of the past twenty years. After all, we started out with such high hopes.

I haven't forgotten the early sixties in Quebec when the idea of Quebec independence for many French-speaking Quebeckers was an ideal untarnished by political exposure – a generous and a hopeful ideal that bloomed on the dung heap of traditional Quebec politics. Many younger English-speaking Quebeckers like myself in the sixties envied the freshness and optimism of the first separatists. But when I travelled to other parts of the country, particularly when I covered the hearings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the sixties, I discovered a corresponding hopefulness in English-speaking Canada. There was a feeling that things could change.

In a book that I wrote in 1965 I said that Québécois really wanted what all of us desire – a good standard of living and as much control as possible over the political future of their own community. As I promoted that book across the country I felt that English-speaking Canadians everywhere responded positively to that viewpoint. Those were the sixties, as I said before, and we have all become a bit disillusioned since then. That's not news – to paraphrase Peter Trueman – but I wonder if it does reflect reality in this case, particularly in our state of battle fatigue on the Quebec question.

It might be helpful to look more realistically at our achievements. I have already alluded to one – the adaptation that has occurred among English-speaking Montrealers. At the core of that community today is a growing number of fluently bilingual anglos who represent an entirely new element in Quebec and whose existence is a healthy corrective to trends toward unilingualism in the French-speaking population. In my opinion the battle for Montreal is over. No one any longer disputes the supremacy of the French there. The task now is to maintain an economically healthy and culturally diverse French-speaking metropolis.

As for the rest of Canada, while Quebec has changed socially and politically the other provinces have undergone other transformations, as you know, particularly in western Canada. A few months ago I sat in the most beautiful theatre in this country – in Edmonton. A few days ago I was interviewing Celia Franca about the founding of the National Ballet of Canada, and it struck me that I belong to the first generation in English Canada that can speak, without sounding completely ridiculous, of a national culture.

It seems centuries ago that our writers were describing us as an unknown nation, a people of uncertain identity overwhelmed by the vast empty territories to the north of us. I don't know whether we actually felt that way at one time or not but in our own generation the country has become finite. We know that it has limits – geographically, economically and politically. We know that, like every other country, we have to develop our strong points and learn to live with our disabilities. I think that we see ourselves more realistically than ever before. In the long run, though we may be disillusioned at times by our lack of progress, that clearer vision of ourselves will ensure progress. It doesn't come easily – for instance, all the emotional talk at the moment about an anti-Quebec or anti-French backlash in English Canada is the kind of thing that obscures reality. Of course there's rivalry in this country between English and French, bad feeling as well as a long history of co-operation, prejudice as well as toleration. I think that we should stop being apologetic about it, or what is even worse, moralistic. The plain fact at the moment is that a period of intense political activity and pressure from Quebec has now stirred up a corresponding response in English Canada. So much the better, in my opinion.

Rivalry between French and English has done as much for this country as wheat. And I wouldn't want to see all of it ground down, blended, bleached, processed into uniformity, wrapped in plastic, and sold as a substitute for real national development. I would like to see some of this realism reflected in contemporary politics; it could be an antidote to the feeling of political exhaustion that I talked about earlier. It could enable this generation to do more than simply pass on the same old problems to our children. Specifically, I would like to see a referendum in Quebec that really means something. After all the turmoil and struggle of the past twenty years in Quebec I would think that the people of that province have earned an opportunity to choose – to use the title of Premier Lévesque's first book about independence – to choose an option for Quebec. Transforming the referendum into a standard political manoeuvre designed to enhance Quebec's bargaining power in Ottawa and to ensure the re-election of the Parti Québécois is, in my opinion, a betrayal of the hope and optimism that was at the heart of the Quebec independence movement in the sixties. An inconclusive referendum will neither do justice to the separatist ideal nor liberate a new generation of Quebeckers for a more realistic and open-hearted collaboration with the rest of the country.

On the related question of constitutional reform, I think that Prime Minister Trudeau is under the same kind of obligation to ask us a straight question. I know there is a great deal of uneasiness about this across the country, that the Prime Minister himself is now regarded with suspicion and hostility by many Canadians, but I would like to see him act decisively on the

Constitution in the final stage of his political career. It would take political courage for him to do this. There will be many legitimate objections to any move to freeze the Constitution in any form. But I for one would follow any prime minister a long way on this road because I feel that this generation, in Quebec and across Canada, has earned the right to make a few important decisions about this country and to leave its mark on our political development. I think we have a chance to do that in the next few years.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Mr. Jerry A. Collins, a Director of The Empire Club of Canada.

DECEMBER 13, 1978

Christmas Luncheon

GUEST OF HONOUR The Honourable Pauline McGibbon,
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF ONTARIO

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Your Honour, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: It has always been my belief that Christmas is especially a time for children – and I suspect that most of you are like me at this time of year and hark back to the excitement of those Christmases when we were young – to the magic of that very special time of the year, the rediscovery of the love, affection, and warmth of a family Christmas with all its time-honoured rituals . . . the exchange of familiar greetings, the preparations for the feast, decorating the tree, the wrapping of gifts, the visiting with family and friends.

It is the warm memories of Christmases past that sustains one when Christmases are not what they should be – when one is apart from the family circle.

It was such a Christmas thirty-five years ago in a place called Ortona in Italy. Colonel Nicholson in his book *Canadians in Italy* spoke of Ortona and of the place Christmas holds in the hearts of men. "In such dreadful circumstances did men thousands of miles from home keep the greatest of all home festivals. The setting for the dinner was complete, long rows of tables with white tablecloths, a bottle of beer per man, candies, cigarettes, nuts, oranges, apples and chocolate bars providing the extras. The Commanding Officer arranged that the companies eat in relays . . . as each company finished their dinner they would go forward and relieve the next company. The menu – soup, pork with applesauce, cauliflower, mixed vegetables, mashed potatoes, gravy, Christmas pudding, and mince pie.

The Honourable Pauline McGibbon at the Christmas Luncheon, with Peter Hermant, Immediate Past President, and the President, Reginald W. Lewis.

From 1100 hours to 1900 hours, when the last man of the battalion reluctantly left the table to return to the grim realities of the day, there was an atmosphere of cheer and good fellowship in the church. A true Christmas spirit. The impossible had happened. No one had looked for a celebration this day. December 25th was to be another day of hardship, discomfort, fear and danger, another day of war. The expression on the faces of the dirty, bearded men as they entered the building was a reward that those responsible are never likely to forget. During the dinner the signal officer played the church organ and with the aid of the improvised choir, organized by the padre, carols rang out throughout the church."

And so it is in the spirit of a children's family Christmas that I welcome The Empire Club family to this, the Christmas luncheon, 1978.

This club's celebration of Christmas is a tradition that was started sixty-five years ago – in 1913 – when the club was just ten years old. At the sixty-first Christmas celebration by the club four years ago a wonderful thing happened to us – for we had with us for the first time a gracious lady as our Lieutenant Governor, representing and bringing greetings from another such gracious lady whom we are proud to serve and call our Queen.

Ladies and gentlemen, for an office to add lustre to the person is no uncommon thing. For the person to add lustre to the office is rare indeed. Pauline McGibbon is a rarity.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is my great pleasure to introduce our Lieutenant Governor, Colonel the Honourable Pauline McGibbon.

HER HONOUR THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR:

Mr. President, honoured guests: It is most kind of you to invite me as a representative of Her Majesty the Queen to be with you at your annual Christmas luncheon. This occasion is always a most enjoyable event for my husband and myself. Your president has used the sentiments I wished to express when he spoke of this annual tradition as a family affair. For that is what it is and I enjoy being part of the Empire Club family. It is my pleasure to bring to you greetings from Her Majesty the Queen and to wish all of you a very happy Christmas.

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

I now call on Mr. Peter Hermant, Immediate Past President, to present a bouquet of flowers to Lieutenant Governor Pauline McGibbon. (*Presentation of flowers.*)

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

The head table, as you have heard, is graced today by those many members of the executive I am indebted to for the efficient functioning of the club. So too is the club indebted to Adriano Ferreira and Carlos de Casta of the Royal York Hotel staff who efficiently manage our weekly

An Empire Club Christmas tradition: the flaming pudding is piped into the Hall.

club luncheons. Other members of the Royal York staff who deserve our thanks are the head porter, Emilio Fucile and his henchman, Sammy. Thanks too to Pipe Major Archie Dewar of the 48th Highlanders of Canada for being with us today and providing us with the mysterious bagpipe music.

And I want, on behalf of the club, to thank our Secretary, Eleanor Cook, and her assistant, Betty McAdam, for the smooth day-to-day functioning of the club throughout the year. On a personal note I want to publicly record my thanks to my secretary, Heather Cox and to my colleague, Leonard Eldridge for the cheerful help they give to me in furthering the causes of the Empire Club.

And for this Christmas luncheon, my thanks to George Stafford for organizing the event.

Your Honour, ladies and gentlemen: I now want to make a presentation to a person I envy very much. The reason I envy him is because he is the Immediate Past President – a goal for me some seventeen or so meetings away. Frankly, when Peter Hermant was the president, he was quite a decent chap. Now, however, he has become a Past President and joined the ranks of that illustrious, intimidating group of Past Presidents, the very thought of whom terrorizes every incumbent President.

Peter, as President, emulated a most distinguished Past President of the club – his father, Sydney Hermant.

Peter Hermant's contributions to the Empire Club are notable. He was instrumental in designing and producing this Empire Club tie. He was the club's seventy-fifth President. His was the year of the plastic lectern which Peter designed and generously gave to the club, but above all else, his was a year of superb introductions of the guest speakers.

You well know, Peter, that this day is the occasion on which we present a bouquet of roses to the Past President's lady, but because Katie is in England, we have arranged this day to deliver to her there the traditional bouquet.

Today is also the occasion when we present to you your Past President's illuminated scroll. It is signed by our honorary president, the Governor General. With this scroll, Peter, go our thanks and congratulations for a splendid year as our seventy-fifth President.

MR. HERMANT:

Ladies and gentlemen: It goes without saying that I am thankful for the honour that you have done me – not only for the handsome scroll that you have presented to me – but also for the opportunity for serving you as your 75th President.

I say "opportunity" advisedly, because the chance to address distinguished audiences on thirty-two occasions is a rare one. It's even more unusual when you are allowed to perform your own material, and these days it's positively uncommon to find your text accurately edited for public consumption in our yearbook.

So you can see that I am very grateful to you all.

As many of you know, my wife Katie and my children and I are all living in England at present – in Chelsea in London to be exact. Our children are attending English boarding schools which is an experience for them and, I suspect, an experience for their schools as well.

All of us have settled in quite nicely, although I am told that my accent remains frustratingly mid-Canadian.

Naturally, we hunger for news of Canada and it's pretty difficult to find. And when it does surface, it's unfortunately almost always about our problems, political, social and economic – and I have not listed those in any particular order.

I believe there exists real confusion in Europe, and in England in particular, as to how a wonderful and pleasant land such as ours – and to quote Robert Choquette, "a land where hope matters," can have such critical and savage problems.

Last year at this meeting, I asked us to think about and remember those people for whom Christmas is not a happy and joyous season. This year, I believe we should direct our thoughts to our own country. If this is really the season of goodwill towards men – all men – if we could only implement that simple thought, perhaps the news of our country might improve throughout the world.

The Gospel according to St. Mark, chapter 3, verse 25, tells us that "if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand."

I hope that the spirit that unites us so in the celebration of Christmas will also unite us in the strength of one Canada – just *one* Canada.

Once again, I very much appreciate the honour that you have done me and thank you for this presentation.

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Your Honour, ladies and gentlemen: It is now my pleasure to introduce to you the choir of Howard School of the Toronto Board of Education. The choir represented Canada at this year's International Society for Music Education Congress. Amongst many other activities, the choir has frequently performed with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra.

The choir is under the direction of Jean Ashworth-Gam and is accompanied by Ruth Watson Henderson – an accomplished Canadian composer in her own right.

(A program of Christmas music was presented by the choir of Howard School.)

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

I do thank you, Jean Ashworth-Gam and your choir. You are much better than the choir of a certain boys' school. At the prize-giving day at this boys' school a very prominent Irishman was asked to give a speech and to present the usual books as prizes. He delivered an excellent speech and at his own volition gave the boys an extra half day's holiday. The boys were ecstatic and they broke out into a spontaneous singing of "When Irish Eyes are Smiling." They were loud, raucous, undisciplined and untuneful but the Irishman was delighted and he beamed at the guests who were sitting with him on the stage. He noticed that the lady sitting next to him was quietly sobbing into her handkerchief. He put his arm around her shoulders and said, "And tell me, my dear, are you Irish too?" She said, "No. I'm the music teacher."

Your singing was not like that. It was more like the beautiful singing of a church choir. In the meadow alongside the church a lady sat listening, and close by her in the same meadow was a naturalist listening to the crickets chirping. The lady, quite moved by the sound of the choir, turned to the naturalist and said, "They sound beautiful, don't they?." He replied, "Yes, and the extraordinary thing is that they do it by rubbing their legs together."

Well, children of the Howard School Choir, I don't know how you make your beautiful sounds but your singing was most delightful, and has given the Empire Club and its friends a wonderful start to the Christmas season.

Thank you very much for being with us and entertaining us today.

Ladies and gentlemen, will you join me in singing the first verse of "O Canada," following the singing of which will you please remain standing until the choir and the Vice-Regal party have departed the room.

A Merry Christmas, everyone, and a Happy New Year.

JANUARY 4, 1979

Economic Strategy: The Myth of Provincial Impotence

AN ADDRESS BY Dr. Stuart Smith,
LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION,
ONTARIO LEGISLATURE

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: First impressions are surely lasting ones for it was at a precocious three years of age that I believe our speaker's interests in politics were aroused. This was when he read about the local Liberal candidates' election success in the pages of the *Montreal Star*. Thirty-five years later, in September 1975, Dr. Stuart Smith was elected to the Ontario Legislature as the member for Hamilton-West. Four months later he became the Leader of the Ontario Liberal Party.

Like many of his peers, Dr. Smith became active in politics in his university days – in our speaker's case at McGill, where he studied medicine. While there he actively opposed the policies of no less a personage than the then Premier of Quebec, Maurice Duplessis. Dr. Smith's particular concern and goal was equality of access to university education for all. Dr. Smith was elected president of the Students' Union, and as such he represented Canada in international debates, and visited the West Indies and the Soviet Union as a representative of Canadian university students.

Graduating with first class honours in medicine, our speaker went on to post-graduate studies, first at McGill and then later at the Maudsley Hospital in England. Along the way he found time to co-host a CBC TV show featuring young people's interests in music, interviews and panel discussions. The other host, Paddy Springate, became Mrs. Smith.

It was in Montreal in 1965 that Dr. Smith considered running for federal office in the riding of Mount Royal, but he stepped aside in favour of another prospective candidate, Pierre Trudeau. Dr. Smith was at the time an executive assistant to the then Speaker of the House, the Honourable Alan McNaughton, whose retirement resulted in the vacant seat for Mount Royal.

In 1967, Dr. Smith accepted an offer from McMaster University to join the faculty of its new medical school. In his professional capacity he has authored many scientific medical articles which have been widely published both here and in the United States.

It has been said that our speaker does not suffer sacred cows easily and this has led to charges of arrogance which he admits have a ring of truth since, in his words, he has always tended to be at the centre of attention. But our attention these days has been concentrated on Ottawa and this has deflected our interest, at least for the time being, away from provincial issues which the general observer sees as somewhat low-key compared with the federal scene. All the more reason then, that Ontarians are fortunate in having the business at Queen's Park come under the careful scrutiny of one with the concern, intelligence, and political acumen of our guest speaker in his capacity as Leader of the Opposition.

More often than not, articles appearing in the press on Dr. Smith make reference to his lovely wife Paddy, and their children, and we have been treated to glimpses of family life in the surroundings of their Burlington home. At a time when he could reasonably be expected to want to be left quietly alone with his family, during this respite from the give-and-take of political life, we are particularly grateful that he would give so freely of his time and on short notice to be here today.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured at this time to present to you our first speaker of 1979, the member for Hamilton-West, the Leader of the Ontario Liberal Party, and Leader of the Opposition, Dr. Stuart Smith, who will address us today on the topic "Economic Strategy: The Myth of Provincial Impotence."

DR. SMITH:

I am delighted to be back on this platform. I guess it was about two years ago that I first had the honour of addressing this organization, shortly after becoming Leader of the Liberal Party. In that two years I have gotten older, if nothing else, and possibly a little wiser.

I should let you know that if you notice a certain imbalance up here, it has to do with a warning given to me by your chairman. He pointed out that the microphones that have been taped to this podium on the left hand side are very precarious indeed. I believe it was his way of telling me that any movement to the left at this time could have dire consequences.

I enjoy speaking to groups at these after-lunch occasions, but I am always a little nervous about the timing. I was speaking to a Rotary Club not long ago and when I asked the chairman, "How long would you like me to speak?" he said, "Well, Dr. Smith, you're the Leader of the Opposition. Of course, you may speak as long as you like. We all *leave* at 1:45."

I have received something of the same message today, so you can be reassured on that score.

Much has been said about the so-called twin problems, as the media people are wont to put it, of the economy and the so-called "national unity issue," which I think is too narrow a term. I don't believe the unity of our country is so much in question as the concept of the country. The idea of Canadianism seems to be coming under some scrutiny.

We usually hear that the economic problems of our country and the Canadianism problem are related. We hear, in the typical way, that if the unity of the country is hurt, then the economy will be hurt as well. Or, if the economy is ailing, then the unity of the country will be damaged. I think most of us have tuned out that message because it's too simplistic, and we are hearing it too often.

I would like to examine these problems from an Ontario perspective.

Dr. Stuart Smith,
Leader of the
Opposition,
Ontario Legislature

Let's think for a moment of why the provinces came together in 1867 to create a country here. You will recall that, to all accounts, it was not for the purpose of being richer than our American friends. The purpose was to bring together otherwise diverse groups of people living in small colonies, so as to resist absorption by the United States of America. We had an *ideal* in this part of North America, largely of British origin, although not entirely. Certainly in Quebec there were other origins to consider as well. We had an ideal that was worth preserving in a separate nation – something that we did not want to lose in the so-called "manifest destiny" of continentalism.

The decision to create Canada was made not because we could make more money that way. In fact, Canada has never made economic sense. If you were to plan a country from the point of view of trying to be economically viable, you would hardly choose one with a climate like ours. You would hardly choose an under-populated country with a ribbon of communities stretched from one ocean to another, with its huge transportation costs and communication difficulties. There was never an economic concept behind the creation of Canada or our original enlargement to include our western provinces.

By any standards in world history, for us to have remained an independent nation in the face of this economic illogic should have required us to make considerable sacrifices. I think of some small nations like Denmark, Holland, Finland or Israel. If you are trying to express nationalistic pride in the face of economic logic, if you are defying, as we have, both economic logic and the power of a large country to the south, you would expect to pay a price for that nationalistic pride. You would expect that, somehow or other, Canadianism would have cost us something. But look at what happened. We discovered a tremendous source of natural resources in and on our ground. We have had great natural wealth accrue to this country from these discoveries.

You know, I am reminded of an old and not terribly funny joke of two recent immigrants to Canada who meet on the street. One of them says, "I wonder why I ever came to this country. I'm struggling, and life is difficult for me. I can hardly make ends meet. Yet you seem to be prosperous, you seem to be so comfortable, so self-assured. Tell me, how did it happen?" The second immigrant said, "Well, I came to this country and I bought some fish. I sold some fish. I used the money and I bought some more fish. I sold some more fish. Then my uncle died and left me a million dollars."

This second immigrant, in a sense, had no reason ever to question his decision to come to Canada. He had no reason to review his reason for coming in the first place, or to renew his dedication to his adopted land. In a similar way, our natural resource inheritance has allowed us to have our cake and eat it too. We have been able to have our nationhood and also a high standard of living.

You know that we sell our raw resources as rapidly as we can dig them out of the ground and find international buyers. We live off the avails of our natural resource inheritance. With the proceeds of that inheritance, we have supported, basically, three things.

We have supported a *manufacturing sector* of sorts. It has been tariff protected. With the exception of steel and a few other industries, it has been a generally mediocre manufacturing sector, generally foreign dominated, generally research lacking, and lately shrinking and in danger. I'll have more to say about that in a moment.

We have supported, secondly, huge *government expenditures*, with which you are well familiar, and gigantic provincial and federal deficits, on the assumption that our children will somehow be able to pay for our extravagance. This has been one of these blithe assumptions that we have made: that the wealth will be endless, and that our children will find our debts nothing at all to pay. We have not thought for a moment of the fact that there will be far fewer children to support a far greater number of old people. We simply assume that our debts can be piled on to future generations, and that they will somehow or other be taken care of.

The third thing we have supported with our natural resource wealth is our habit of *importing* to our heart's content all the goods to provide a high standard of living.

I want you to note that our national purpose, our reason for coming together in the first place, has never had to be renewed. We never had to fight to create this country. We have never had any hardships during which we would say to ourselves, "Yes, things are tough, but after all, this country is worth preserving." We have never had to renew our faith in Canadianism. We have never had that faith tested and, consequently, it has never been understood by a good many people. You know that it has never been taught in our schools so our young people have not any real sense of how this country came together and what its purpose is in being independent of our American neighbour.

Very few of our young people have a deep sense of what Canadianism has meant over the years, and that's partly because we never had to pay for it. When you have to suffer a little, sometimes you at least ask yourself what it is you are suffering for and you renew your faith.

If our resources were endless, if foreign buyers were plentiful and we could continue to sell at the present rate, then frankly, we would have no problem. The problem is that our resources are finite. Poor management of our resources, and I think of our forest resources in particular, has led us to the point where some resources have turned out to be not as renewable as they should have been. Certainly our inland fishery resources are in some difficulty. We find, perhaps even more importantly, that markets are not as easy to come by as they used to be. The marketing of nickel, you know very well, has been a problem. The same is true of copper.

There have always been cycles in resource marketing but we are now coming under competitive pressures from other parts of the world, particularly from Third World nations. They have very large deposits of some of the same metals that we have and a great willingness to sell them in order to obtain foreign exchange. Sometimes they are willing to sell their resources at prices that lead us to believe that they are losing money and at which we would lose money to meet their competition. These are real forces in the world today.

I would put it to you that, especially in Ontario, we require another source of real wealth, or "value-added" industry and activity. One possibility is to expand our service sector. There is no doubt that possibilities exist, with international banking and so on. But I believe that we have no alternative but to develop a thriving, world competitive, *manufacturing* sector in Canada, largely centred in Ontario.

Secondly, I believe that we need in Ontario a willingness to curtail our demands, both private and public. We have to learn that we cannot consume if we are not producing. We have to get the basic message through to people that we cannot pay for things if we are not genuinely earning the money with which to buy them. To believe that governments are somehow different in this regard from you and me, to believe that governments can somehow pay for things without having the money to do so, is pure self-deception. It's about time that everyone understood that.

Thirdly, we have to pay some attention to the state of national feeling, because we in Ontario stand the most to lose if national feeling deteriorates in any way, and if the markets in this country in any way break or become fragmented.

Ontario has the most to lose in these areas, and Ontario has the most to be done in the area of manufacturing. What can we do? First of all, in each of these matters, there is a vital role for government. We hear so much, since Proposition Thirteen,* that government should just go away and leave everything to the private sector. I, for one, do not believe that it's so simple. For sure, we need less of the obstructive, burdensome kind of government that we have become used to. But we still need some government role in our economy. It must, however, be a more intelligent and a more selective role than the one we have seen heretofore. We need a government that leads by example, that sets priorities, that makes choices and fosters private initiative and a feeling of Canadianism.

Let's talk about manufacturing. I put it to you that we need a manufacturing strategy in Ontario and in Canada. In my view, Ontario should take the leading role in developing that strategy.

You may be aware that, in the first half of 1978, shipments by Ontario manufacturers grew more slowly than all other provinces, except New Brunswick and Saskatchewan. There are fewer people employed in Ontario manufacturing today than in 1974. The Science Council of Canada describes our manufacturing industry with the term "de-industrialization." There has been a tendency in our country to become a resource-supported and service-oriented economy. Manufacturing has become little by little a down-graded activity, and that has hurt Ontario in particular.

Government, industry and labour, working together, must pick areas of potential success and we must put our resources there. We must, in other words, *specialize.* We cannot win the medal in every item at the Olympics. We have to pick the events in which we have a real opportunity to win and to do well according to world standards, and that is where we must put our resources.

We have some natural advantages. We have an educated population that has cost a fortune to put through school, and we

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**Editor's Note*: Proposition Thirteen was a privately-sponsored California state constitutional amendment to reduce property taxes which was overwhelmingly approved by the voters on June 6, 1978.

are not now using these people to their full potential. This is a dreadful waste of money, to say nothing of human resources. We must pick areas of specialization that require and benefit from an educated population.

There is no point in trying to compete in some of the labour-intensive industries where we can always be beaten by the Third World countries with their very low wages. But in the newer technologies – in the technologies related to mining, to forestry, to energy, to communications, to transportation, to climatology, to oceanography; in these technologies where we have some knowledge, and some natural advantage – we should be leading the world in these technologies, not importing them as we do now.

I recently visited Texasgulf, for example, and learned that they have had to import a zinc-extracting technology from Japan. I asked why and they explained that it was the best available technology at a reasonable price. They were right to buy it. It was a good clean technology, an excellent one. But I ask the question, ladies and gentlemen, how did it happen that we now have to import technologies relating to mineral extraction? Japan does not have any zinc. Why are we not leading the world in zinc-extractive technology?

Why is it that most of our mining equipment now comes from Germany, Switzerland, and Sweden, from the United States of America and from Japan? What happened to our manufacturers of mining equipment? There was a time when we led the world in this industry.

What about forestry equipment? The forestry industries in Canada will be spending a billion dollars this year to renew their equipment, to buy new equipment and to make repairs to existing machines. About half of that billion dollars will be spent outside the country and almost every large piece of machinery will be coming from outside of Canada. Why? How did this happen? Lest anyone say that the problem is slave labour wages in Germany or Sweden, I'm sure you know that is not true. Nor is it because free enterprise has somehow done a better job in those countries. In fact, their machinery giants were given several forms of assistance by government.

Government agreed to purchase their machinery for the first few production runs, and government supports them when they go around the world trying to sell their product. Now many of these machinery companies have become industrial giants meeting very specialized world-wide markets, and it's pretty tough for us to compete.

But why did we let our industries fall behind? How could Ontario, the centre of such manufacturing, allow that to happen while we just sat back blandly saying that there is no place on earth we'd rather live and all that sort of stuff? How did we permit our own manufacturing base to be taken out from under us?

When we look at Ontario's declining position in Canada, it's not good enough to say that naturally the west is rich because they have oil and gas. Sure, they have oil and gas and they are rich. But manufacturing can still provide a good living as they are showing us in Germany and Japan. The Japanese don't have any resources, but they are doing pretty well in manufacturing without paying slave labour wages.

There are definitely government procurement and purchasing policies which can be introduced to renew our manufacturing sector. We need research policies in Ontario to bring together our universities, our industries and government itself. In the area of pollution technology, let's take Inco as an example. Inco, as you know, is shipping up its smokestack huge amounts of sulphur dioxide. They claim that it is not profitable to produce sulphuric acid from that sulphur dioxide because the market is limited for sulphuric acid. I understand that. But if Inco put sulphuric acid together with phosphate rock, as an example, they could produce fertilizer to be sold throughout the world and they would create a tremendous industry here. Inco has not found much phosphate rock, but how hard have they looked for it? How much encouragement have they had to look for it?

Why have we not had government, universities, and industries working together on all kinds of innovative research to find ways that Canadians can have new technologies in these areas? In pollution control, recycling, energy-related areas, why has there not been the kind of teamwork that could make us world leaders? We can ignore pollution if we like, but the world won't ignore it for long. Sooner or later we will need the new pollution-control technologies. We will soon be importing those as we import every other technology, unless we get busy now to do the research to produce our own technologies in this country and particularly in Ontario.

We also have to educate our people for a tough, competitive world. It is a great mystery to me, ladies and gentlemen, how we could have arranged in free enterprise Ontario an education system which has in it everything except competition. How do we expect people to come out of that system as highly competitive entrepreneurs with a feeling for free enterprise? We let our kids compete on the athletic field, we hope our businessmen will compete world-wide. We know it's a tough competitive world, but we do not let our kids compete in school. All that competition was taken out of the schools by the man who is presently Premier of Ontario.

I suppose that I should say nothing of a partisan nature here. You invited me to speak because of my psychiatric background, no doubt. But I am a partisan politician.

Have you ever asked yourself, how are we supposed to produce from this "misguided egalitarian" school system people who are going to go out and compete in the real, tough world?

Similarly, we are not producing the people we need in manufacturing. Manufacturers go begging for skilled workers while many of our young people are collecting unemployment insurance. Our apprenticeship program in Ontario was allowed to wither, to virtually disappear, and despite some recent stirrings, it is still not even worth talking about. Our technical programmes in the schools were virtually eliminated by the new "smorgasbord" approach to education in which every student is able to choose every subject he may possibly want to learn: a little of this, a little of that, but nobody was to be streamed into any kind of technical education. Then when our students are finally finished in high school, they have to start all over again in the community colleges which cost us another fortune. I remind you that all these things have happened to our education system in Ontario under a Conservative government, ladies and gentlemen of the Empire Club.

We also have to figure out what is wrong in our business schools. Why is it that in American business schools, almost all of the students say that they are going to open their own company someday, yet in Canadian business schools, almost all of them intend to work for the government or to work for large corporations? There is nothing wrong with large corporations, but it would be nice to see a solid corps of people in our business schools who have the ambition to operate their own business some day, to branch out on their own, to have that feeling of upward mobility and ambition. Our business schools seem to inspire this kind of risk-taking attitude in a very low proportion of their students. The Ontario government controls the universities. It should get together with our business schools and find a way to change student attitudes.

Apart from leading the renewal of our manufacturing industries, government is going to have to curtail its demands. You may remember that in the 1977 election, I said that government should have to live with the same constraints that apply to workers' salaries, that government should not be allowed to grow any faster than salaries were growing, that it should not take any larger portion of each dollar than is in the pocket of every citizen. My opponents – even Darcy McKeough, so staunch a Conservative as that – said that such restraint was impossible. "Are you going to put old people on the street?" I was asked. "Are you going to deprive children of milk, or of education?" I said at that time that school boards and municipalities should also have to live within the constraints of the Anti-Inflation Board. "Oh, that's impossible," I was told. "Five thousand teachers would be out on the streets," and so on and so forth.

"It couldn't be done," you remember. Well, it has been done, and now it has become the conventional wisdom in Ontario and elsewhere, that government cannot be allowed to grow any faster than the economy itself is growing.

Remember the 37½ per cent increase in OHIP fees that was going to be imposed on you? We were told that there was no possible alternative. So we did the research and we showed the alternatives to the government, areas where expenses could be cut. Finally, in the showdown, they cut the proposed increase in OHIP premiums by one-half.

Despite the difficulties, I am convinced that there are ways that we can curtail the demands of government. We simply must do so if only because the pension funds, from which we borrow to finance our deficits, are going to have to be repaid at some point in the not too distant future. But more fundamentally, it is about time that we taught people, as I said earlier, that we cannot consume what we do not produce.

Before concluding, I want to say a few words about our national feeling.

I don't know how you felt about it, but I was very upset recently when Premier Bennett of British Columbia commented on the proposed takeover of Macmillan Bloedel by an eastern Canadian company to the effect that he did not like the idea of a "British Columbia company" being bought by an eastern Canadian company. What have we come to in this country?

The latest First Ministers' meeting, which you may have seen on television, left me personally most despondent. Our government leaders could not even agree to bring home our constitution from Great Britain. What is wrong with us in this country?

Why is it that Premier Lougheed of Alberta feels that he has a right to export all of his new-found natural gas when we in Ontario have paid handsomely to fund the exploration that led to the discovery of all that new gas? Do we not have a say in the disposition of that gas, the finding of which we paid for?

As for Premier Lévesque, we don't expect him to say anything good about Canadianism since he is trying to break up the country. Certainly his Quebec-first purchasing policy and his semi-racist Bill 101 have not helped Canadian feeling at all.

Here in Ontario, we now have a policy of some kind – though nobody can find out what it is – of giving money to companies like Hayes-Dana of the United States to locate in Barrie, which is not an area of high unemployment at the moment. If Ontario is going to give money to various corporations to locate here, will Quebec not do the same? Will Manitoba not do the same? Are we in competition, one province with the other?

Similarly, the proposed incentives to the pulp and paper industry may well be needed. But are we providing these grants as a provincial initiative alone? Are we getting into competition with British Columbia in this regard?

What is happening to us as a country? We have a slight downturn in the economy, or even a serious downturn in the economy, and every province wants to go its own way. We suddenly have forgotten the need to be Canadians above all. In my view, we have to renew our national spirit, and we need leadership to do so.

I love the vastness, and the challenge of this land. I love and respect the land itself. I value the diversity of our people and I, for one, love and take pride in the French fact in this country. I appreciate our tolerance, our pluralism, our reasonable pace of life, our respect for privacy, our concern for those in need. These are Canadian attributes which I deeply respect and are the reason for the existence of our country.

Canadianism has to be more important than the policies of each province. Ontario must lead and must speak out for Canada and for economic renewal. Ontario must not pretend to be impotent, waiting for federal initiative. We can act to revive manufacturing. We can, as a province, do a great deal about education, about research, about national feeling, and about that leadership which has been so seriously lacking.

I would like to conclude with a word from the excellent Christmas message of our Queen, which I am sure many of you heard.

> We must not let the difficulties of the present or the uncertainties of the future cause us to lose faith. It is far from easy to be cheerful and constructive when things around us suggest the opposite. But to give up the effort would mean, as it were, to switch off hope for a better tomorrow. We must work for the future which our grandchildren will step into one day.

I deeply believe that every one of us can take heart and take direction from those words.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Joseph H. Potts, C.D., Q.C., a Past President of The Empire Club of Canada.

JANUARY 11, 1979

Too Few Producers: In Britain and North America

AN ADDRESS BY Walter Eltis,
FELLOW OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: Drawing, as the Empire Club does, upon the wide spectrum of professions and occupations for our guest speakers, both national and international, provides this club with a balanced look at the affairs of man and our world. Depending on what our speakers have to tell us, we can leave here, stimulated, depressed, exhilarated, but always with something to think about. Perhaps the more thought-provoking of our speakers are those who come to us from the academic world. I can tell you with a great degree of assurance that that is the case with our speaker today, Dr. Walter Eltis, Fellow of Exeter College and Lecturer in Economics at the University of Oxford.

It was Dr. Eltis, writing in 1975 for the *Sunday Times*, explaining reasons for the decline of the British economy, who sparked a controversy that continues today among British politicians, businessmen, trade unionists, economists and bureaucrats.

Dr. Eltis has chosen as the title of his address today "Too Few Producers." This is taken from the title of his recent book *Britain's Economic Problem: Too Few Producers.* The book has received wide attention and acclaim in economic circles around the world and, most importantly for us, it draws parallels between British and Canadian economic problems.

Dr. Eltis has held his present post at Oxford since 1963 and his expertise in his chosen field can be attested to by a quick glance at his curriculum vitae. Amongst other impressive activities and qualifications we see: 1970, Visiting Reader in Economics at the University of Western Australia; 1976/77, Visiting Professor of Economics at the University of Toronto. His current tour of Canada is under the auspices of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, and in March and April of this year he takes up a visiting professorship at the European University Institute, Florence.

Dr. Eltis has given the Woodward Lecture at Yale University, and he has spoken to many groups in Canada and the United States, such as the National Planning Association, the Rand Corporation and the Washington Chamber of Commerce.

One has the decided impression that our speaker is a pragmatic economist who would give short shrift to the type of statistician who puts his head in the oven and his feet in the fridge and states that on the whole he is feeling fine. Given the concern of most in the audience for the state of the national and indeed the world's economy, we are delighted that Dr. Eltis has found time in his busy Canadian schedule to be here with us today to address us on the subject "Too Few Producers."

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured to present to you Dr. Walter Eltis of the University of Oxford.

DR. ELTIS:

There is a growing understanding that the economic difficulties of Britain and North America are fundamentally structural. A most important aspect of the structure of economies is the relationship between the size of the sector of an economy where an economic surplus is produced, and the requirements of those who live off that surplus. Teachers, civil servants, doctors employed by the government, soldiers, policemen and pensioners produce no marketed output but they buy a great deal. The output they buy has to come from somewhere and it comes from the production of companies, whether private or nationalized, and from those who work for them. These produce more marketed goods and services than

EMPIRE CLUB

Dr. Walter Eltis,
Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford

they buy, and the surplus then goes to those who produce none.

Suppose we have an economy where industry and commerce produce a surplus of thirty per cent while teachers, doctors and civil servants try to buy forty per cent. There is only one place that the other ten per cent can come from and that is from overseas. Hence a country which is trying to spend forty per cent outside the market sector and only has a thirty per cent surplus within it is going to have a trade deficit of ten per cent of marketed output, which is going to cause a collapse in the pound, dollar, lira or whatever its money is called, which is then going to force interest rates higher, and produce all the other effects that result from balance of payments weakness.

The vital relationship is the one between the surplus producing sector, companies, public corporations, banks, and so on, the size of the surplus that they produce, and the needs of the government-financed surplus-using sector. Because this is the vital relationship it does not follow that the surplus-using sector is in any way less significant to the wellbeing of a society. Health, education, an absence of slums, and an absence of poverty and destitution are of vital importance to societies as rich as ours, indeed to all societies, and it is arguable that they matter far more than extra material production. It is essential to comprehend, however, that it is the surplus-producing sector that makes social welfare possible, and so the viability of the surplus-producing sector is what attention must be focused on. If that sector fails to produce an adequate surplus and to expand sufficiently rapidly, the financing of the social services will be undermined.

The requirements of the government-financed non-market sector have grown very rapidly in both North America and Britain since 1965. In the United States the government-financed surplus-using sector needed 30.7 cents in the dollar in 1965 and 38.5 cents in the dollar in 1977, an increase of eight cents in the dollar. In Britain the government sector needed 35.1 cents in the dollar in 1965 and 44.0 cents in the dollar in 1977, an increase of nine cents in the dollar. In Canada the needs of defence and welfare increased from 33.2 cents in the dollar in 1965 to 43.9 cents in the dollar in 1977, an increase of eleven cents in the dollar. These shifts have produced great strain because the transfer of an extra ten per cent of total output to the non-market sector has had to be financed in economies with quite low productivity growth rates. In these twelve years the average British, Canadian or United States worker has produced only 20 to 25 per cent more and the government has needed a high fraction of this addition to real resources.

In the twelve years from 1965 to 1977 the United States government spent forty-five per cent more in real terms on behalf of each American worker. This left just three per cent extra per head for companies and workers to spend themselves on private consumption and investment. Those who produced the surplus therefore got three per cent more and those who used up the surplus got forty-five per cent more. In Britain those who produced the surplus in industry and commerce got twelve per cent more from 1965 to 1977 while government spending for each market sector worker increased sixty-two per cent. In Canada there was a six per cent increase in these twelve years in the marketed output available for each of those who produced it and a sixty-seven per cent increase in what government spent on their behalf.

These are great discrepancies. From 1973 to 1977 they were partly influenced by the fact of the world recession, and in recessions governments rightly continue to expand their spending even though private sector companies produce less and sell less. If the eight years from 1965 to 1973 which led up to world recession are considered in isolation, it still emerges that spending by the government on behalf of each worker in Canada, Britain and the United States increased over twice as fast as what workers and companies were themselves able to spend.

It is not wrong in principle that spending on education, health, pensions, personal security and the arts should have increased so much in relation to personal consumption. There is a clear trend that as people become richer they spend more in these directions. The wealthy are especially concerned about their health and that of their families, the education of the next generation and adequate provision for retirement. These are provided by government for those who are poorer, and it is right that the provision which is publicly made should grow as fast as those who are free to choose provide for themselves. But there is a vital consideration that must always be kept in mind. What is provided publicly comes ultimately from the surpluses provided by companies and corporations, and if the part of the economy that produces those surpluses cannot function effectively, then there will be nothing to provide the social services that all desire. So it is on the health of the market sector in Britain, the United States and Canada and the surpluses that it provides that attention must be focused. Did the very rapid growth in public services in all three countries undermine the ability of their industry and commerce to function effectively?

The examination will start with Britain where the growth of government expenditure produced an immense increase in tax and social security deductions from the paypackets of the average worker. In 1963 fourteen pence in the pound were deducted from the pay of the average British worker, and by 1975 thirty pence in the pound were being deducted, so an extra sixteen pence in the pound were deducted over these twelve years. With a thirty per cent rate of deduction from paypackets by 1975, the ordinary worker was being asked to pay the taxes that used to be required of a bank manager or university professor. At first workers reacted to the steady increase in taxation that they were expected to pay with great restraint. From 1964 to 1969 they co-operated with anti-inflation policies which restricted pay increases to four or five per cent, and there were extremely few labour disputes. In return for this co-operation, what was left in paypackets after all tax deductions took five years to increase just 3.5 per cent.

Workers were not pleased by this, and they began to feel that their unions were letting them down, so there was a gradual change in union leadership and policies. Workers had found that co-operation got them less than one per cent extra a year and after 1969 unconditional co-operation ceased. The unions started to push up wages very much faster and to organize so that their net pay rose even though more and more taxation was being deducted. To achieve this, they chose leaders often from the militant Left who were expected to maximize the bargaining power of their group. The new union leadership had fewer inhibitions about the methods used to obtain large wage increases and they set their sights, not on increases of seven per cent or so which had been regarded as high until 1969, but on increases of well above ten per cent. The rate of inflation increased sharply, but with the new militancy the average worker managed to increase real take home pay fifteen per cent from 1969 to 1973, compared to only 3.5 per cent in the previous five years of co-operation.

But during the period when the workers co-operated there was no damage to the underlying productive structure of the economy. From 1965 to 1969 the government took an extra 2.3 per cent of marketed output and private consumption in the market sector fell by 2.6 per cent of output so the growth in government expenditure was financed entirely from private consumption. Investment and exports both got a greater share of output. Hence, so long as the workers paid for the growth of government, the structure of the British economy became stronger and the country was able to maintain high employment and improving public services.

When the workers started to act militantly from 1969 onwards their extra wages had to come from profits, and from 1969 to 1973 they succeeded in reducing the share of profits in industrial production by something like six pence out of every pound produced. Government was no longer growing at the expense of workers' consumption. As a result of the increase in union militancy and power, workers' consumption increased faster than output despite increased taxation. At the same time government claims rose sharply, by over three per cent of output. As workers and the government both took a higher fraction of output, capital investment and the balance of payments were bound to get less, and this in fact happened. Accompanying the profits squeeze, investment and the balance of payments got 4.1 pence in the pound less in 1973 than in 1969. Investment in job creation suffered. Employment by British companies fell by over 100,000 a year after 1969, and the balance of payments moved towards collapse.

The mechanism by which the workers shifted the National Income away from profits and towards wages and salaries deserves attention. After 1969 the trade unions demonstrated that they had the power to increase money wages very rapidly. The government found it unacceptable that money wages should rise explosively, and so Mr. Edward Heath's Conservative government reached a temporary agreement with the unions in 1972 whereby they agreed to wage restraint on condition that profits would be severely restricted through government price controls. The workers said that they would not agree to wage restraint if companies could price as they pleased. The government then placed companies in a situation where they were not allowed to pass on increases in wage and raw material costs in full, so profits were squeezed, the share of wages in the National Income rose and some other component of incomes had to give way. Hence the key to the workers' higher share of wages was their power to force price and wage controls, unfavourable on balance to profits, onto the government.

There are two ways in which the inevitable consequences for the balance of payments can be explained. On the one hand, once workers were well enough organized through their unions to hold their share of consumption in the National Income, workers' consumption can be likened to one millstone. The government at the same time had the power as always to take all the resources it wanted, because it signs the cheques and because it can print any money it needs, so its claims resemble another unshiftable millstone. What was in between these millstones was bound to be squeezed and in the end crushed, and it was in fact capital investment and the balance of payments. If the government has invincible power to raise its real spending while unions give the workers power to resist any cut in their spending, something else, namely investment and the balance of payments, must take the strain. Profits are of course severely squeezed in this situation and it may be that companies react by investing less. But suppose companies bravely go ahead and invest as much as before, even though they are short of cash. In that case it must be the balance of payments that takes the strain, and as the two millstones move towards each other the balance of payments is bound to move massively into deficit. This results in a large excess of imports over exports. The government cannot face this and once foreign loans and borrowing reach their limit, it has to deflate the economy which persuades companies to cut investment. The sequence is then that the balance of payments is hit first and investment in job creation suffers after that.

That is one way of looking at the difficulty. A more fundamental way returns to the relationship between the surplus-creating sector and the surplus-using sector set out at the start. If, as a result of union pressure, the government introduces price and wage controls which have the effect of squeezing profits, the surplus of marketed output that companies provide will also be squeezed. If the companies provide a smaller surplus and the government takes more, the difference has to come from the balance of payments.

This can be illustrated very vividly from what happened in Britain because it is in fact possible to estimate the surpluses of marketed output that British companies provided each year. From 1961 to 1977 British private sector companies provided a rate of surplus for the finance of social welfare which averaged 35.9 per cent. The nationalized industries or crown corporations provided a rate of surplus which averaged only 11.1 per cent. This meant that if the whole British economy had been run like the private sector companies, Britain could have had a welfare state of around thirty-five per cent which is roughly what Britain in fact had. If the whole economy had been run like the nationalized industries, Britain could have had a welfare state purchasing only eleven per cent of total output. So if the whole economy had adopted the pricing and investment policies of the nationalized industries, pensions would have had to be cut by two-thirds, and two-thirds of the doctors, teachers, soldiers and policemen would have had to be sacked because the nationalized industries were only capable of supporting an eleven per cent welfare state.

The reason for the low rate of surplus of the nationalized industries was first that they invested massively, far more than the private sector, and to a large extent excessively. There was one year, 1975, when their gross investment actually equalled forty-eight per cent of their gross output. In 1972, Britain spent 2.5 per cent of the country's entire production to produce just three per cent of the country's total energy requirements through the nuclear-energy program, which is a rather poor trade-off. The nationalized industries also went through a period when they priced massively below costs of production in an attempt to check inflation. For four years, 1972, 1973, 1974 and 1975 the prices they charged failed even to cover wage costs and in 1975 they sold their output so much below cost that they needed loans or subsidies of fifty-eight pence for every pound's worth of net output they produced. As the nationalized industries produced a very low or even negative rate of surplus, a far larger rate of surplus was required from the private-sector companies, but during the period of price and wage controls the private companies were obliged by Mr.

Edward Heath's government to price as if they were nationalized industries. They too were expected to price below cost, and in 1974 the surpluses provided by the private-sector companies were thirteen pence in the pound less than in 1972. The simultaneous fall in the rates of surplus provided by both the private companies and the nationalized industries led to Britain's largest balance-of-payments deficit in 1974, when imports actually exceeded exports by eight per cent of the National Product. An equivalent Canadian deficit today would be a staggering twenty billion Canadian dollars, which is over three times the present deficit. Of course the British deficit of eight per cent of the National Income, due fundamentally to the fact that private sector companies and the nationalized industries were both being obliged by government to provide a much diminished rate of surplus at a time when the welfare state was taking markedly more, led to a collapse of the pound and soaring British interest rates.

The period when all this was happening in Britain was one when the government was not very concerned with the efficiency of its own sector and extremely concerned about the way the private sector was being run. The writings of John Kenneth Galbraith had been very influential, and governments believed that the private sector was full of distortions and inefficiencies which called for action. Those who ran the public sector were in contrast regarded at least by economists as all knowing and capable of taking society's needs as well as private greed into account. It was believed that this complete knowledge of private and social costs and benefits would lead to decisions in the public sector which were bound to be socially efficient. In many countries, including Britain, Professor Flores' statement that, "The private sector can be defined as the part of the economy that the government controls: the public sector is the part that nobody controls," was only too true. The indifference to efficiency of the British nationalized industries has already been described. Two further examples from Britain can be added. From 1965 to 1973 there was a fifty-one per cent increase in hospital administrators in the National Health Service in a period where there was an eleven per cent reduction in the number of hospital beds that they were administering. From 1961 to 1975 there was an eighty-five per cent increase in employment in education, but only fifty-one per cent of those employed in local authority education actually taught pupils. The others administered, served meals, cleaned and did all kinds of things other than teach. The money spent on Mirabel airport is a very clear Canadian example of the proposition that "The public sector is the part of the economy that nobody controls."

By 1973 the growth of the British non-market sector and its inefficiency were severely undermining the productive structure of the economy. Profitability had been severely weakened as a result of the success of trade union militancy that resulted from worker frustration, and there was far too little investment to maintain employment in the market sector. The rate of annual job loss accelerated to over 125,000 a year. The world recession clearly contributed to this trend. At the same time British workers have become still more frustrated since 1973 because the economy is very clearly producing far too little marketed output to satisfy the now far stronger trade unions. Despite some recent tax cuts, the average unmarried British worker had 3.9 per cent less real purchasing power available to him after tax deductions in 1978 than in 1973 while the average married worker had 0.9 per cent less. Workers see some unions achieving increased living standards through the exercise of market power, and press their own unions to achieve the same, to produce the dreadful results that are visible in Britain in the winter of 1978-9. Local authority workers have waited for heavy snowfalls to refuse to grit or sand roads which then had to be closed. Some ambulancemen have said they would not take victims of road accidents to hospital. Gravediggers have been on strike and there have been union pickets outside cemeteries to prevent burials. Lorry drivers closed the ports for four weeks and refused to allow movements of food which caused farmers to slaughter animals they could not feed. That is what can happen where companies and corporations are unable to produce enough marketed output to provide the increased private consumption and improved social services workers desire.

There is one country which has experienced developments very similar to Britain's, but where these have gone still further in some respects, and that is Sweden. Hans Soderstrom and Staffan Viotti of the Institute for International Economic Studies in Stockholm have explained recent developments in the Swedish economy very vividly. In their account, wages rise faster than prices and productivity in the sector of the economy which produces tradeable goods and services – which is predominantly industry. As the real cost of labour rises there, companies find it unprofitable to employ as many workers as before, so they cut employment. As it is widely agreed in Sweden that it is the government's duty to act as employer of last resort, all the people who become unemployed in industry are found some kind of work in the public sector. This puts up taxation – the Swedes finance most of their public expenditure through taxation and not by printing money – and the higher taxes cause the workers to put up wages again. This further rise in wages (and Assar Lindbeck, Director of the Institute of International Economic Studies has pointed out that with Sweden's marginal tax rates it now takes a three per cent rise in wages to recover one per cent of wages lost through higher taxes), gets still more workers sacked from private industry. These extra workers are then absorbed into the public sector which pushes up taxation yet again. As the Swedes form one of the more disciplined communities in the world, and as they have also strongly favoured full employment and public sector expansion, they have managed to push taxation to what must be the highest ratio in the world by this mechanism. In just the six years, 1970 to 1976, average taxation in Sweden increased by twelve cents in the dollar from forty-six per cent to fifty-eight per cent of the National Income. There is no other OECD country where it increased by more than seven cents in the dollar in this period. The tax ratio has continued to rise since 1976 and in 1978 it reached sixty-five cents in the dollar. The Swedes are now beginning to believe that at sixty-five per cent it has reached some kind of limit. Given this, they have started to attempt to reverse the continuing job loss in industry which is due to the fact that profits are too low and wage costs too high. Hence wage costs have had to be reduced and profits increased so that there is sufficient investment to create jobs. If employment does not increase in industry and commerce, still more workers will have to be fitted into the public services which would push up average taxation beyond sixty-five per cent. Alternatively the economy could cease to offer full employment. But reversing the process which has been described is extremely difficult and it involves making workers worse off for a time. It must, however, be reversed. Since taxation cannot be increased every year without limit, the Swedish process of squeezing workers out of industry and then re-employing them in the public services cannot continue indefinitely.

There are clear similarities in what has happened in Britain and Sweden. In both countries the growth of the surplus-producing sector has been gradually undermined through continuing union pressures to raise personal consumption on the one hand, and a growing government share leading to ever-rising taxation on the other. These pressures have left too little in between for investment in job creation in industry and commerce on which the whole surplus-creating capacity of the economy, and therefore its ability to finance social welfare, depends.

Has growing government spending produced similar effects in North America? In the United States the increase in government expenditure has been nearly as fast as in Britain but between two-thirds and three-quarters of the increase has been local and not federal. As a share of the National Income, both the extra government spending and the increased taxation has been predominantly by states, cities and townships.

A second point to note about the increase in public expenditure in the United States is that the increases in expenditure and taxation have been by no means uniform. In the four highest taxed cities, Boston, Buffalo, New York and Milwaukee, total local taxes averaged 15.8 cents in the dollar for a family of four earning $20,000 to $30,000 in 1975. In Houston, Jacksonville, Memphis and Nashville, they averaged 4.7 cents in the dollar at the $20,000 income level and only four cents in the dollar for a family earning $30,000. Those in the Liberal northeastern Galbraithian states were therefore paying about twelve cents in the dollar more than the southerners. That meant that Americans could opt out of the whole increase in the government sector by simply moving to Houston, and millions have moved from the northeast to the south. From 1960 to 1975 population increased sixty-seven per cent in the four low-tax cities and fell six per cent in the high-tax ones.

The New York/Houston tax discrepancy was in fact one of 13.2 cents in the dollar at the $20,000 income level and 14.6 cents in the dollar for those earning $30,000 and this meant that there were very clear financial incentives for the better-off to move south. At the same time, New York social benefit levels were higher so there were incentives for the unemployed and the unemployable to move north. A former mayor of Houston put it colourfully when he said, "Houston is a good place to be if you want to work. If you don't want to work you might get a better deal in New York." In New York City there was a fifteen per cent fall from 1960 to 1976 in those employed in industry and commerce who produced the surplus that financed the city. In the same period the city employed forty-two per cent more to use up that surplus. So you had forty-two per cent more people living off the surplus that fifteen per cent fewer people were producing. This led to New York's inevitable financial crisis and when that point was reached both sectors in New York started to cut employment. The market sector workers continued to leave New York, and 200,000 market sector jobs disappeared between 1974 and 1976. At the same time, New York City had to cut employment once the financial crisis point was reached, and from 1974 to 1976 New York City sacked 50,000 workers. Hence both sectors of New York started to decline once the point of financial crisis was reached and this has had devastating social effects. If we look at the employment of sixteen- to nineteen-year-old teenagers we find that in low-tax Houston it rose from forty-one per cent in 1970 to forty-seven per cent in 1976. In high-taxed New York it fell from thirty to a socially disastrous twenty-two per cent in the same period, and among the ethnic minority groups only one in seven of the teenagers has a job.

The example of New York shows the socially devastating effects of pushing up the costs of the government sector faster than workers wish it to be pushed in one part of a country which workers are free to leave. Those who increased welfare expenditures faster in New York than in the remainder of the United States thought they were increasing welfare. Instead they drove out the taxpayers who finance it, and ended up with social disaster: a large dependent population with too little money to support it, and few employment opportunities for those who wish to work. The attempt to increase welfare expenditures too rapidly has therefore destroyed social welfare.

To what extent has the growth of government expenditure in Canada had effects which parallel those in New York and Great Britain? Government expenditure has increased faster in Canada than in either Britain or the United States, so it is to be expected that it will have had very significant effects.

In fact from 1965 to 1973, the eight years leading into the world recession, the Canadian social services grew entirely at the expense of personal consumption. In 1965, Canadian workers in agriculture, industry and commerce consumed 55.6 cents worth of every dollar they produced. By 1973, largely as a result of greatly increased taxation, they consumed only 47.3 cents in the dollar. This staggering fifteen per cent fall in the proportion of output that the average Canadian worker consumed more than financed the improvements in Canadian social welfare expenditures. It financed higher investment and a better balance of payments in addition. But the price was a heavy one in terms of deteriorating industrial relations.

Because of the greatly increased taxation the average Canadian worker only increased consumption by 0.5 per cent a year from 1965 to 1973. The social pressure from this was partly relieved by the fact that more Canadians in the average family were working. On average in Canada the proportion of the population that has been working has been rising by 1.5 per cent a year. This is mainly because there has been an increasing tendency for wives to work, and to increase their hours of work. Hence, while the average Canadian worker spent about 0.5 per cent more each year in real terms, the average family was able to spend about two per cent more because more members of the family were working. But this only benefited some families, and there is no doubt that the individual Canadian worker's income was growing quite slowly. Hence Canadian unions began to organize like British unions to get a faster increase in private consumption. If the number of days lost through strikes in Canada are examined, these averaged only 1,611,000 a year from 1956 to 1965 but they increased to an average of 5,592,000 a year from 1966 to 1972. Until 1965, Canadian wages increased at much the same rate as United States wages, but from 1965 to 1973 they increased two per cent a year faster than United States wages and from 1973 to 1976 they went up six per cent a year faster than United States wages. Canada then reached the British point of needing price and wage controls in order to restore discipline in the labour market which is something that most of the world's economies have not needed. The fact that Canada like Britain has needed price and wage controls certainly suggests that there was considerable worker frustration about the slow growth of private consumption.

In Britain the worker frustration, leading to increased union power, started to undermine the productive structure of the economy from 1969 onwards. Fortunately for Canada, such evidence as is available suggests that there has not been significant structural damage to the economy of the type that occurred in Britain. Thus in Britain employment in the market sector of the economy fell by 0.75 per cent a year during the world recession. In Canada, in contrast, employment in the market sector, that is in agriculture, industry and commerce, increased by 1.75 per cent a year throughout the world recession.

Until the start of the world recession Canada, of course, increased employment faster than that, in fact at a rate of about 2.75 per cent a year, but if Canada had reached a point of serious structural damage by 1973 then the country could not have continued to expand market sector employment at a rate of almost 2 per cent a year. In both New York and Great Britain employment started to fall at a significant rate once the damage was done.

An examination of profitability in the Canadian market sector tells a similar story. According to the international MacCracken report which sought to compare profits in a number of countries, the share of gross profits in the Canadian National Product increased from 28.2 per cent in 1965 to 28.8 per cent in 1973, and then fell only to 27.2 per cent during the first three years of the world recession. In the United States, in contrast, profits fell from 29.5 per cent of gross output in 1965 to 25.1 per cent in 1976, a far sharper fall than Canada's. If the share of corporate profits in the Canadian National Income is examined, then the share of profits less capital consumption and inventory inflation was 10.6 per cent in 1965, 11.4 per cent in 1973 and 11.6 per cent in 1975.

There are thus two indicators which suggest that Canadian profitability has been maintained through the world recession, indeed that it has shown remarkable stability. Data for capital consumption from 1975 to 1977 is not yet available, but the gross profits share has continued to hold up so there is no particular reason for apprehension.

Hence, the British effects of growing government expenditure, declining profitability and falling market-sector employment have not been shared by Canada. There is, however, one British symptom of deterioration that may merit attention. Canadian manufacturing profits were thirty-four per cent of total profits in 1965, thirty-three per cent in 1973 and only twenty-four per cent of total profits in 1977. So there certainly has been a Canadian profits squeeze in the manufacturing sector and presumably a commensurate relative increase in profits in the mineral and commercial sectors. The reason for this is first that the extra rise in Canadian wages relative to United States wages has been especially damaging to profitability in industry, where Canadian and United States prices must be competitive. The same is not so true of services like banking, insurance and retail distribution, where it is far easier for Canadian firms to pass their higher wage costs on to the consumer. In the second place, Canadian price controls have hit manufacturing especially. The prices charged by banks, insurance companies and shops are not easily controlled by the government but the prices charged for manufactures are controllable. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the Canadian Anti-Inflation Board which ordered a number of companies to lower prices during the period of price and wage controls damaged industrial profitability. There may therefore be weaknesses in profitability and in the productive structure of Canadian manufacturing industry.

The recent devaluation of the Canadian dollar to $.84 U.S. should however have restored profitability, at least for a time. This has made up for much of the extra Canadian wage inflation since 1965. However, the benefits from a competitive Canadian dollar will soon be lost if the consequent increase in the Canadian cost of living prompts Canadian workers to raise wages far faster than United States wages. In the second and third quarters of 1978, Canadian exports of goods were about twelve per cent higher in volume than in the equivalent quarters of 1977. This indicates that the devaluation of the Canadian dollar is assisting the recovery of Canadian industry, and that a rise in industrial employment and profitability should follow. But if Canadian wages now explode upwards, profitability will revert to the previous low levels and the recovery of industrial production will slow down. This is where the previous growth of government spending makes conditions especially difficult for Canada. Real consumption per worker in Canada was only three per cent higher in 1977 than in 1965. There is therefore a considerable frustrated desire for more private consumption in Canada as in Britain, for the government has taken most of the fruits of higher productivity in the market sector. The Canadian unions are also far more organized than they used to be and here also they have followed Great Britain. It is extremely important for Canada that, despite these difficulties, wage restraint be maintained so that the eighty-four cent Canadian dollar leads to industrial revival rather than to accelerating inflation which could set the scene for further falls in the dollar.

To sum up the present situation, growing government spending has plausibly presented Canada with a frustrated and unionized labour force but so far such structural deterioration in the economy as there has been appears to have been confined to industry, and Canada now has an opportunity to restore industrial profitability and to add considerably to industrial employment.

If Canada has not experienced a British-type deterioration in the profitability and employment provided by the market sector as a whole have there been New York style regional effects? There is one major cause for concern here. Quebec has both higher taxation and government expenditure and lower marketed output per worker than Ontario and the western provinces. It also has a higher minimum wage than Ontario and other provinces, and language regulations that are driving market sector companies out. Like New York, it is persuading many of those who pay its taxes to leave. There are, however, significant differences between Quebec's vulnerability and New York's. Canada equalizes taxation between the provinces to a much greater extent than the United States, and partly as a result of this, in 1978 Quebec taxpayers only paid about five cents in the dollar more in total taxation than Ontario taxpayers at the same income level. The tax discrepancy between New York and Houston was about two and a half times as great at around thirteen cents in the dollar in 1975. In Alberta, total taxation is perhaps ten cents in the dollar less than in Quebec which begins to approach the United States north-south tax difference, but Quebec is probably more vulnerable to a departure of companies and the skilled to Ontario and there the tax discrepancy is not yet very considerable. The situation will however change each year and to Quebec's disadvantage if companies continue to leave. Every such switch will reduce Quebec's tax base and increase Ontario's and so further increase Quebec's relative tax handicap. The public and private sector employment statistics of the provinces will therefore need to be watched with great care in the next years.

What of the future of the Canadian economy as a whole? Why is there such profound concern about the Canadian economy if the structure of the economy has come through the world recession with profitability undamaged and seven per cent more productive jobs than in 1973? Sadly this rate of job creation is insufficient for Canada's long-term needs. International population projections suggest that Canada's population growth in the period to 1985 will be one and a half times as fast as that of the Soviet Union, the United States and Japan, and ten times as fast as the European Economic Community's. Because of Canada's very rapid rate of population growth and the increase in participation rates – more women working each year – the country needs substantially more job creation than other economies. The result is that the 1.75 per cent per annum rate of growth of employment that Canada has been achieving is too slow to prevent unemployment from growing. Unemployment has almost reached nine per cent already and it will rise by a further 0.75 per cent during each year that the prospective labour force rises 2.5 per cent and only 1.75 per cent new jobs are on offer.

Canada must therefore raise the rate of job creation as a matter of the greatest urgency but how is this to be done? Some Canadians are suggesting that expansionist Keynesian policies should be pursued still more strongly than they have been. Canada already has a budget deficit which exceeds five per cent of the National Income and the suggestion is that a still larger deficit should be tolerated. Britain is very familiar with these policies and British experience has been that they no longer work. A high fraction of the extra demand that results from tax cuts or government expenditure increases is spent on imports, perhaps as much as sixty-seven per cent in the British case, and the effect of this has been that the British Treasury has expanded the Japanese and West German economies about twice as much as the British in its Keynesian spasms.

Canada also has a very high import ratio, so there may be a similar tendency for the extra demand that Canada creates to leak out of the economy. What is more serious is that these leakages cause immense deterioration in the balance of payments. Canada's current account is already in substantial deficit, and the dollar is falling faster than the government wishes. Still more Keynesian expansion would produce a still weaker balance of payments and therefore a still weaker dollar and yet higher Canadian interest rates. The fall in the Canadian dollar to $.84 U.S. gives the country an opportunity to reduce the deficit, but statistical work in Britain suggests that the balance of payments improves after a devaluation only to the extent that the budget is improved. So Canada will sabotage any benefits for exports and for the expansion of industry which should follow from the lower dollar if a still more expansionist budgetary policy is now attempted. So that is not the answer.

Is the answer more government-financed job creation schemes? Statistical evidence from a recent Harvard-MIT study suggests that throughout North America fifty-seven per cent of industrial jobs disappear every ten years, because of international competition, the obsolescence of plant and the development of better products elsewhere in North America. These jobs which disappear have to be made good through the creation of an equivalent number of new jobs. In some parts of North America, namely the south, they are more than made good. In other parts, namely the northeastern states of the United States, they are not made good, and industrial employment declines. The process that is being described is one of creative destruction, in which bad jobs disappear and are replaced by better ones. Britain has made the terrible mistake in the past four years of putting most of such government money as is available to deal with the employment situation into job preservation rather than job creation. Britain has therefore subsidized the continuation of the bad jobs. The country has attempted to stop the fifty-seven per cent from disappearing instead of putting the money towards the creation of good new jobs which can hold their own against international competition. There is no doubt that such money as is available must go to the creation of jobs to produce new products that can win international markets and hold their own against foreign competition in the home market. Such projects are hard to find and it is probable that Canada is doing about as much as can be done in these directions as it is. There is no doubt that trying to defend the old jobs that international competition is undermining is an increasingly expensive Canute-like task from which no long-term benefits can accrue.

There is, of course, no fundamental reason why a resource-rich country like Canada should have to finance all the job creation that is needed without foreign help. The United States was a resource-rich country with high potential for development in the nineteenth century, and the return on capital was higher than in England where the opportunities for growth were judged to be less. Capital therefore flowed from England to build factories, mines and railways in the United States, and the United States in consequence had a large current account trade deficit that was financed by a real capital inflow from Europe.

Canada today is a country with a high potential for development, like the United States in the nineteenth century. So it is right that other countries should invest to create real capital and jobs in Canada and that the Canadian current account of the balance of payments should be in deficit to the extent that other countries are helping to develop the Canadian economy.

Australia is in exactly the same situation, and in 1971-77 Australia's current account deficit was much the same as Canada's as a share of the National Income. But seventy-three per cent of Australia's current account deficit has been financed through the direct investment of international companies in Australia. This has meant that almost three-quarters of Australia's deficit has been financed by the creation of new productive jobs and new productive capital installations in Australia. In consequence Canberra has only had to borrow to finance the other twenty-seven per cent.

In Canada's case none of the current account balance of payments deficit has been financed by international capital coming into Canada. Indeed the international direct investment flow has been out of Canada and not into the country, with the result that Ottawa has had to finance over one hundred per cent of Canada's deficit. This has meant that the Canadian government has had to make very large foreign borrowings and a great deal of Canadian fixed interest stock has had to be placed in New York and now other foreign financial capitals. The Canadian dollar slips downwards in relation to the United States dollar in every week in which Ottawa fails to borrow enough, and Canadian short-term interest rates have had to move up with United States rates and indeed to be above them most of the time because of the Canadian government's continuous need to borrow south of the border. If, like Australia, the Canadian government had only needed to borrow to finance thirty per cent of Canada's deficit because international companies were building factories and mines in Canada to finance the rest, then the Canadian dollar would be far stronger, and Canadian interest rates could be significantly lower than they are. The fact that the Canadian dollar has fallen forty-seven per cent in relation to the Australian dollar since 1974 despite Canada's slower rate of inflation underlines the force of this argument.

Why is capital flowing out of Canada? It is puzzling that it should be if the rate of return on capital is fully competitive with the United States as the statistics suggest. One possibility is that these statistics are misleading. In that case there is a straightforward answer. The statistics on comparative profitability need to be looked at carefully and if they show that the rate of return net of all taxes is weaker in Canada, then the simple solution is to cut the taxes that fall on companies. These amount to between four and five per cent of the Canadian National Income so they can be cut quite considerably. The return in Canada will then rise and international capital be drawn in. If, on the other hand, a careful statistical study suggests that the real rate of return on capital in Canada is fully competitive, then what is keeping international capital out of Canada must be lack of confidence in future profits. How drastically price controls can affect profitability has already been explained. Canada is one of the few countries in the world that has had to resort to these. International companies may well take the view that a country which has used these once may do so again, and believe that serious risks are involved in investing in a country where future profits are insecure.

But if present profitability is competitive, and only future profits are in doubt, then Canada's problem is a comparatively simple one. If profitability is currently sound, all that is needed is the expectation that those profits can also be earned in future. If that is true, Canada would have the comparatively simple task of establishing confidence that international companies will be able to act competitively in future and earn such profits as they can in competition with Canadian companies. Re-establishing confidence is a far easier task than altering the structure of production – which is the problem facing Britain.

It is of fundamental importance to Canada to discover precisely why direct investment is flowing out of the country instead of into it as it should be. If international investment starts to flow into Canada again, more jobs will be created, the exchange rate of the Canadian dollar will start its recovery and interest rates will be able to come down. Above all, renewed expansion of the market sector will safeguard the social services where Canada has achieved so much. Like Britain's, these are now threatened by expenditure cuts which can be reversed as soon as a faster rate of expansion of industry and commerce provides a sufficient growth in tax revenues.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Harold V. Cranfield, M.D., F.R.C.P.(C), a Past President of The Empire Club of Canada.

JANUARY 18, 1979

Technology and Tomorrow

AN ADDRESS BY Roy A. Anderson,
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD AND
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER,
LOCKHEED CORPORATION

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: In its 1938 annual report, Trans Canada Airlines grandly reported that in addition to one Stearman aircraft, stationed at Vancouver as a stand-by for the Vancouver-Seattle mail service, the initial equipment roster comprised five Lockheed 10A Electra aircraft. These were powered by two 420 horsepower engines and were capable of carrying ten passengers and eight hundred pounds of freight at an altitude of 10,000 feet, that is, five and a half times the height of the CN Tower. They could do this at speeds up to 175 miles an hour. Subsequent Trans Canada reports tell us that the equipment roster was increased by the addition of nine Lockheed 14H aircraft in 1939 and in 1940 six Lockheed Lodestars were purchased, each of which could carry fourteen passengers. It wasn't until about 1946 that we encountered another aircraft manufacturer's name in the equipment roster. Heady stuff in those early days and the beginning of what we know today as Air Canada.

At about this same time a young Stanford University business administration graduate was serving his country as an officer in the United States Navy, and would do so again during the Korean conflict. Putting those two seemingly remote pieces of information together is perhaps a roundabout way of introducing our guest speaker today, Mr. Roy A. Anderson, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of the Lockheed Corporation of Burbank, California.

Mr. Anderson received his Bachelor's degree in economics and his Master's degree in business administration from Stanford University. Before joining Lockheed, he served in executive positions with other high technology companies.

Joining Lockheed in 1956 as a staff accountant, he advanced through several financial operations and management offices to that of Assistant Treasurer of the corporation in 1968, Vice-President and Controller in 1969, and Senior Vice-President and member of the Board of Directors in 1971. In 1975 he became Vice-Chairman of the Board and Chief Financial and Administrative Officer, and was elected to his present position of Chairman and Chief Executive Officer in September 1977.

As I have noted, there is quite a strong connection between Lockheed and Canada and I was delighted to find yet another, albeit a tenuous connection, in the fact that Mr. Anderson resides in a place called La Canada, California.

I commenced this introduction with comments showing how interwoven our national airline was with the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation in its formative years. That association continues to this day, with Lockheed providing not only Air Canada with the most sophisticated of aircraft and equipment, but also providing the same support to our Defence Department. Indeed, Canada, with the longest coastline of any country in the world, will be relying on the Aurora aircraft of Lockheed to provide coast surveillance as protection of our sovereignty.

We are delighted that the Chairman of Lockheed is able to be with us today, and I know that you will agree with me that his background and accomplishments in the business world permit him to speak authoritatively on the topic "Technology and Tomorrow."

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured at this time to present to you the Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of the Lockheed Corporation, Mr. Roy A. Anderson.

MR. ANDERSON:

Let me say that I am honoured to appear before your distinguished organization.

The Lockheed Corporation is proud of its association with your country. This association has several facets: First, we're a supplier of high technology products to Canada. Second, we buy – and are committed to buy – a considerable amount of goods and services from you. Third, one of our divisions, Lockheed Petroleum Services, has its headquarters in Vancouver.

We were very pleased when, several years back, Air Canada selected our L-1011 TriStar for its aircraft fleet. Today ten TriStars are in that fleet. We sincerely hope more will be added.

In 1976 the Canadian government placed an order with us for eighteen Aurora anti-submarine warfare and patrol aircraft. One week from today, the first Aurora will be rolled out at our Burbank, California plant. It's a beautiful plane, certainly enhanced by your national colours. The program is on schedule. To us, the rollout will be an historic occasion – a fitting testimonial to the smooth and effective partnership we have developed.

And it *is* a partnership. Under the Aurora contract Lockheed agreed to place $415 million in new business in Canada by 1993, with financial penalties assessed for non-performance. Toward that commitment, Lockheed and its suppliers had placed orders in Canada totalling $184.5 million up through the third quarter of 1978. After negotiations with the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, including the application of stringent rules on Canadian work content, this amount has been reduced somewhat, and actual credit for $132 million has been achieved. The terms of the contract required that a total of $88.2 million be achieved through that time period. So our efforts thus far represent an over-achievement of about $44 million. We also have offset commitments on P-3 Orion structural work totalling about $168 million. On potential future aircraft programs to be developed at Lockheed, commitments have also been made to involve Canadian industry to the extent of about $350 million. Our total commitment then, is about $938 million under the Aurora program. Toward that total objective of $938 million, Lockheed and its suppliers have placed new or additional business in Canada totalling about $242 million, through the third quarter of 1978.

Roy A. Anderson,
Chairman of the Board
and
Chief Executive Officer,
Lockheed Corporation

As a part of the L-1011 TriStar program, Lockheed has placed $70 million of work in Canada thus far. There is a potential for an additional $85 million, giving a total of $155 million. This is over and above the $938 million commitment under the Aurora program.

Our partnership with Canada goes back many years – before the L-1011 and the Aurora. Since 1960, through the end of 1978, we estimate the total value of our direct procurements from Canadian industry to be in excess of $475 million. Much of this was not procurement in the ordinary sense. For example, in the first half of the 1960s, Canadian industry participated with us in a co-production program for 340 of our Mach II international fighters – the F-104G Starfighter, known in your forces as the CF-104. Through this co-production, we hope we helped to re-establish in Canada – and other countries as well under similar programs – a modern high-performance aircraft production capability following World War II.

So, our ties are indeed close and meaningful. They are mostly related to *technology*, and technology is the subject that I want to discuss this afternoon.

Today we are concerned about many economic problems – federal deficits, adverse trade balances, persistent inflation, a decline in the rate of capital investment, lagging productivity. These problems are somewhat common to our two countries.

Permit me for a few moments to develop some thoughts based on the situation in the United States. It would be extremely presumptuous of me to try to specifically adapt my observations to Canada, and I will not. However, you may find a degree of relevancy to your situation.

Today our attention in the U.S. is focused on inflation. It has played havoc with our economy. It has tended to discourage the degree of capital investment needed to increase productivity.

Basic economics and common sense tell us that the only way to keep raising people's wages without having to raise prices is through the production of more goods and services more efficiently. This means greater productivity.

Today this is not happening. We are raising wages without a commensurate increase in production of goods and services. Prices are increased so the raised wages are not real – and the result is inflation.

What has happened to our productivity? Let's look at some facts.

Today, the rate of increase in U.S. productivity is below that of any of the other major industrial countries and is at the lowest level in a hundred years. In fact, the year 1978 saw almost no growth. From 1970 to 1977 the productivity increase in the United States was about 2.5 per cent. During this same period Japan's rate of increase was 6 per cent, West Germany's was 5 per cent.

Why this marked deterioration in the United States? I believe we have an inadequate rate of capital investment needed to encourage the application of technology to improve productivity.

If we look at the investment ratio (investment expressed as a percentage of gross national product) of the three countries I just mentioned, we find that Japan over the same period had an investment ratio of 33 per cent, Germany 23 per cent, and the U.S. 15 per cent.

It is also interesting to note that in the last decade individuals in Japan saved approximately 24 per cent of their after-tax incomes, in Germany the rate was 14 per cent, and in the United States about 7 per cent. These individual savings constitute an important source of funds available for investment.

A moment ago I mentioned *technology as a key* to *increased productivity*. Let me cite some statistics. Technological innovation is estimated to be responsible for approximately half or more of all productivity gains. Technological innovation means jobs – it is estimated that advanced technology has created some thirty million jobs in the United States over the past quarter century. Industries that are technologically intensive grow half again as fast as other industries. And productivity grows faster in high technology industries. A recent Commerce Department study shows that high technology companies create jobs 88 per cent faster and yield productivity growth 38 per cent more rapidly than other companies.

Let's look at trade. As an employee of a high technology corporation, I am acutely aware how much aircraft and other high technology products contribute to my own nation's balance of trade. In 1977 aerospace generated export sales of $7.6 billion. The net favourable contribution to the trade balance was $6.85 billion – second only to agriculture. We have no figures as yet for 1978 but I expect they will be just as impressive, if not more so.

Look at how underdeveloped nations view technology. We are all aware how intensely those countries seek access to the technology that will move them into the twentieth century and the ranks of the world's industrialized nations. The People's Republic of China is a clear example – its change in thinking is dramatic. I was recently there, and I can tell you their emphasis on technological growth is indeed intense.

Technology connotes innovation. Cost reductions and efficiency gains come primarily through innovations in methods for production and distribution. Innovation in new products and services is vital to the process by which an economy grows and renews itself.

Now, where does the U.S. stand today in the support of technological innovation? We are beginning to realize that we have slipped in recent years. Let me give you some examples:

(1) Total U.S. research and development spending has been declining as a percentage of gross national product since the middle of the last decade. We used to spend 3 per cent of our gross national product on research and development – today it is down to 2.2 per cent.

(2) The number of students enrolled for advanced engineering and science degrees in American schools has dropped 10 per cent over the last decade.

(3) The fraction of our scientists and engineers engaged in research and development has been declining. Industry has been putting more emphasis on short-term development, less on long-term research.

(4) And now a final example – a quote from U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown in a statement to the House Armed Services Committee in February of last year: "The fiscal year 1979 Department of Defense budget request . . . reflects our growing conviction that we must reverse the erosion of the technical and development lead the U.S. has had over the Soviet Union. During this past year debate has shifted from whether or not our quality lead has eroded to how bad is the erosion and what corrective actions must be taken."

I admit that this is a selective list that may be unduly frightening when taken out of context. Still, there is enough evidence around to cause genuine concern about the loss of our innovative thrust and the support and direction of research – particularly basic research.

The apparent threat comes at a critical time because never has our economy needed more help from our technology than it does today. Back to what I said before. To curb inflation we must increase productivity. And the preponderance of productivity gains comes from technological innovation.

How, then, can we stimulate technological innovation? The answer lies in the health of the economy and business. It lies in stimulating capital formation, stimulating investment, creating the incentive to invest and invent.

Technological innovation does not come quickly and it does not come cheaply. It usually involves high risk, and it requires financial nurturing over many years before it brings results. To support it, private industry must have the resources. It must be profitable and it must be able to attract venture capital.

How, then, can we stimulate capital formation in the U.S.? There are five positive steps that could be taken in our tax structure:

(1) Further and significantly lower or defer the current capital gains tax. Japan and West Germany have no capital gains tax. Recent tax legislation did lower ours from a top rate of 49 per cent down to about 28 per cent but that latter rate is still too high. It particularly discourages investment in high technology companies or in new technological ventures where extra risk must be balanced with extra reward.

(2) We need to eliminate the taxation of dividends. It really does not make sense to tax corporate income and then to tax that part of the residual income that is distributed as dividends. We would be much better served if that distributed income were fully available for reinvestment.

(3) We need to further decrease the corporate income tax rate. This year it was lowered 2 per cent, from 48 per cent to 46 per cent. Many favoured a further decrease, to a rate of 44 per cent. The end result would be more funds available for investment.

(4) We need to give serious consideration to some form of partial tax credit for research and development expenditures. This could be similar to the investment tax credit concept applicable to investment in fixed assets. I understand that you have such a concept. This kind of credit should be high enough to encourage greatly increased private research and development efforts while causing only a modest, short-term loss to the Treasury. It should be structured to encourage long-term product development. It might be desirable also to structure it to provide increased incentives to smaller companies, where the need for help may be even more critical.

(5) We need to relook at our depreciation rates. The United States lags behind many other countries in the amount of write-off allowed in the first three years, on the average. I

understand Canada, on the average, allows 100 per cent – in the U.S. it's around 70 per cent.

In addition to these changes in our tax structure, to some degree we probably need a re-ordering of our national priorities.

In recent years we seemed to be more concerned with social and environmental factors. In our federal budget, outlays for health, education, welfare, and other security programs have grown from 30 per cent of the total in fiscal 1969 to an approximate 48 per cent in fiscal 1979. It would appear that our President recognizes the priorities problem in his initial fiscal 1980 budget proposal. It will remain to be seen whether the Congress will support him. I hope it does.

To sum it all up, I'm convinced that if we would give serious attention to incentives for capital investment, we would once again see a resurgence in technological innovation. And with it would come greater productivity, one of the key factors in stemming inflation.

I've talked from the U.S. point of view. I suspect that since our economies are rather closely related, some of the points I've expressed do apply to Canada. I have heard that you are concerned over technological stagnation. I understand your government has embarked on a new program to give high national priority to research and development, and that you have increased tax incentives for industrial R. and D.

I am impressed with the recent observation made by your Finance Minister Jean Chrétien, when he said: "If funds are going to be put into industrial R. and D. in sufficient amounts, the whole climate for investment and innovation in Canada will have to be improved."

At the inception of my remarks I mentioned Lockheed's offset commitment to Canada. This commitment had two basic objectives: to stimulate employment in your aerospace industry, and to effect a transfer of some of our technology to you.

As to the first objective, your Minister of National Defence has noted that the program has created 2,200 new jobs directly and another five to six thousand indirectly.

As to the second objective, we believe progress is being made. We are training Canadians in our own plant in Burbank on digital computer and software development and every system of the world's most advanced patrol plane. We have given Canada access to advanced and classified data. One of our subcontractors, Sperry Univac, has built a new plant in Winnipeg to manufacture digital magnetic tape units and to train Canadians in these skills. C.A.E. Limited in Montreal is providing operational mission simulators for crew training. Litton Systems of Rexdale, Ontario, is providing an advanced mission data interpretation and analysis centre. Ronyx and Bristol Aerospace are providing major structural components of the Aurora as well as the P-3 Orion. We have begun to set up a software consortium to develop and maintain computer programs.

Let me say that we at Lockheed sincerely hope that our mutual efforts on these programs will lend impetus to Canada's program of giving high national priority to technology advance through research and development. If it could be said that we were helpful to some degree in that regard, then we would be most pleased.

Finally, I want to express my very great appreciation for the opportunity to be with you today. On behalf of all of us at Lockheed, let me repeat how proud we are of our long association with Canada and how pleased we are that that association continues today – with Air Canada; with the aircraft companies with whom we are currently working; with your government whom we are working with in the defence of North America; and with the many Canadian friends we have gained over the years.

We are privileged to have enjoyed this close association. We have worked together to help solve many problems. We look forward to solving new ones with you in the critical years ahead.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Major Arthur J. Langley, a Past President of The Empire Club of Canada.

JANUARY 25, 1979

The Public Interests in Collective Bargaining

AN ADDRESS BY John Crispo,
PROFESSOR OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AND PUBLIC POLICY,
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: It is not difficult to find in this morning's, or for that matter, any morning's newspaper, a story about a strike, the threat of a strike or the results of a strike.

There are many in this audience today who are entirely immune from what appears to be the constant confrontation between labour and management. But is that so? In reality, however buffered we may appear, labour-management turbulence affects us all.

The attempts to understand the motivations and the concerns of both sides have spawned a relatively new science and expertise under the title "Industrial Relations." So it is that the name of our speaker today is well-known, not only to principals and experts in this field, but also to those of us grouped under the term "the general public" who would learn more about the problems, the interests and the concerns of all those who are involved in this new reality of our society. John Crispo, Professor of Industrial Relations and Public Policy at the University of Toronto, is a name familiar to many as a frequent commentator in the media on current industrial-relations matters, and more so, to those more intimately involved in the solving of problems in this field.

We are sometimes consciously and at other times unconsciously prone to decry the meddling of academics in what we consider to be practical matters of the moment. We cannot level this accusation at Dr. Crispo. Since graduating in 1960 from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with a Ph.D. in Industrial Economics, he has paralleled his academic qualifications with practical experience in his chosen field. He has authored four books dealing with industrial relations both here and abroad; he was a member of the Prime Minister's Task Force on Labour Relations; he was Director of Research, Royal Commission on Labour-Management Relations in the Construction Industry and Director of Research for the Select Committee on Manpower Training. At various times he has been a research consultant to the Economic Council of Canada, the Prices and Incomes Commission, the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, the Anti-Inflation Board and the Federal Department of Labour.

During the academic year 1976-77 he was on sabbatical leave in Western Europe interviewing labour, management and government officials on the latest developments in the field of industrial democracy. And during that time I am sure that many of you enjoyed his fascinating and informative articles published in the *Globe and Mail.*

John Crispo brings to his field of endeavour a balanced outlook and a clarity of expression based on academic achievement, practical experience and on his keen observation and understanding of events. Ladies and gentlemen, I am pleased at this time to introduce to you Dr. John Crispo, who will speak to us today on the subject "The Public Interests in Collective Bargaining."

DR. CRISPO:

Ladies and gentlemen: As the chairman indicated, this is a bad time to be defending the collective bargaining system, which is what I'm going to be doing today. It's difficult in this country, where our system appears so strife-ridden and inflation prone. But then, of course, this is the Empire Club. One has only to look at the mother country.

What can one say? It's bad. It's British. But why get upset? They have always muddled through before, and I guess they will again. But it will leave a lot of scars.

I don't intend to dwell on it, but I would make one point. It is the point I will be making towards the conclusion of my remarks about Canada. The British industrial-relations system does indeed look very sick and troubled. It is. But I would argue, and I will argue in the context of the Canadian scene, that that is because British society is in such deep trouble.

Rather than be serious, perhaps I could summarize the situation, and the Canadian situation, by borrowing from a little ditty. I was told, and I hope I've got it right, that Maggie Thatcher used this little ditty when she was addressing your club two or three years ago. I remember hearing about it, and thinking at the time that she had it all wrong because the labels she was using were inappropriate. And I think in a sense that is still true today.

Let me give you the version she used, and as I go along I will add my own interpretation. I guess she felt inclined, when she was in Canada, to inform Canadians about the makeup of the British nation. She said, "Britain is comprised of four nations. First, the Welsh, who pray on their knees and prey on their neighbours."

Now, who is that in the context of labour-management relations? To me, that is government. And certainly the British government is very good at preying on its people.

"Second," she said, "are the Scots, who keep the Sabbath and anything else they can lay their hands on." Now, who is that in the labour-management context? That's management – the beggars who charge what the traffic will bear. Some of you will not like that, but wait till you hear about the others.

"Third," she said, "are the Irish, who don't know what they want, but are willing to die for it." That is obviously organized labour.

"And last," she said, "are the English, who consider themselves a race of self-made men, thereby relieving the Almighty of a dreadful responsibility." (I don't like the English, in this context, but I'm afraid I fall into several of these categories:

John Crispo,
Professor of
Industrial Relations
and Public Policy,
University of Toronto

the academics, the arbitrators, the conciliators, the mediators, the media types, the politicians, and everybody else you don't like.)

Now, that's Britain, and I think you would agree, to some extent that is Canada.

Now, tough as it is to defend collective bargaining these days, I think that those of us who know something about the system should defend it more vigorously than ever simply because it is under attack. There is just too much at stake, not only in terms of collective bargaining, but in terms of our total system, for us not to stand back and look at what is going on and recognize the fact that we could be making some drastic changes if we tried to alter too much the collective bargaining system. But I am getting ahead of myself.

What I want to do, in the time available, is talk about three public interests in collective bargaining, and then out of that, try to arrive at a conclusion. These three public interests are as follows: first, the public interest in the preservation of the collective bargaining process as part and parcel of our overall socio-economic-political system; second, the public interest in the procedural results of the collective bargaining process – that is in strikes and lockouts and other forms of lost time due to industrial conflict; third, the public interest in the substantive results of the collective bargaining process. By that I mean the relationship between wage settlements and inflation.

I want to deal in turn with each of these public interests in the collective bargaining process. After that I will return to their competing and conflicting nature and draw some general conclusions.

The first, and to me, primary, public interest in collective bargaining is a very real and yet somewhat philosophic one. It is the public interest in collective bargaining as a vital component of the hierarchy of values and institutions that underpin our society. In essence, these are fundamental western values, liberal democracy, the competitive, enterprise or market system, and collective bargaining itself.

Let me start with what are usually termed fundamental western values. Traditionally, these have included freedom of speech – which to me is basic – freedom of assembly, freedom of contract, and freedom of property. I would add to this list equality of opportunity, which this country is running away from as fast as it can. Currently, with the movement towards higher university fees and towards the abolition of inheritance taxes, we are obviously moving in the opposite direction, as is the attempt being made to scale down some of the programs designed to help the disadvantaged. Others would add freedom from human degradation, poverty and suffering, although here too we have a long way to go. As the right-wing tide sweeps over North America, how much emphasis will we put on these values? Suffice it to say that we may not be able to preserve our more traditional western values unless we update them from time to time to include important new social values.

So far at least fundamental western values have thrived best within liberal democratic political frameworks. The easy way of describing these frameworks is by reference to the American constitutional commitment to government of, by and for the people. Whether congressional, parliamentary or some combination of the two, these systems have best served the interests of those who cherish our traditional western values. This is not so clearly the case when it comes to some of the newer values just mentioned, such as equality of opportunity and protection from poverty.

My third point in this hierarchy that I am building is a little more controversial. I don't think it will be controversial before this audience, but it would be if I were addressing the leftists and militants of the labour movement, let alone some of the kooks that we put up with at the University of Toronto to offset people like myself who are considered unduly right wing. In this audience I am not right wing, but in certain parts of the University of Toronto I am considered so. But it's awfully important to have those kooks around. If they weren't there, we wouldn't look as right as we are! But I have history on my side when I state that there is no liberal democratic political system that has survived, let alone done well, unless it has been coupled with something like a competitive enterprise or market system. I used to use the word "capitalism," but that word has become as charged and useless as "communism." I would remind you of the definitions of capitalism and communism. "Capitalism is a system in which man is allowed to exploit man. Communism is just the reverse."

My point of view is historical. I know of no country that has retained liberal democracy and fundamental western values that does not have a mixed free-enterprise or modified capitalist system. History is not infallible. My friends on the left assure me that somewhere they are going to prove me wrong. I just pray that they are not going to have the opportunity to use this country as their laboratory.

If you have followed me this far, fundamental western values, liberal democracy, mixed free enterprise, then I will get very dogmatic. You can't have your system, you can't go on charging what the traffic will bear and ripping off the public for all you can, whether you are in a corporation or a professional group, unless workers are provided with the same opportunity. Workers have discovered the hard way that for most of them it is impossible for them to do so on their own. They have to have collective bargaining. My point is that it is part and parcel of this whole system. And if they are going to do that, they must have a vehicle through which to do it, and that is the role of the trade union movement.

I am not arguing that this hierarchy of institutions represents the best of all possible worlds. Perhaps in my naïve youth I used to think it did. All I would say for it now is that it represents the least of the evils. Within the very imperfect world in which we live, that isn't bad.

So my first point is that collective bargaining is indeed a component part of a whole set of values and institutions that I don't think many of us want to risk, and therefore my fundamental message is that we recognize the vitally significant part that collective bargaining plays in our total socio-economic-political system. I will stress again in my conclusion that we dare not tamper too much with the essence of our collective bargaining process without jeopardizing the rest of this overall system as well.

Let me turn now to the public interest in the procedural results of collective bargaining – strikes, lockouts and everything else that goes with it.

I don't have to remind you of Canada's record in terms of industrial conflict. We are normally in the top five; we are seldom out of the top ten in the world league of strikes and lost time. The only country that we can't beat is Italy. We have tried! Even in 1976 when the Canadian Labour Congress called its day of protest, you all thought it was because they were protesting wage and price controls. I knew they wanted to lead the world league just once. But you can't beat the Italians. If they lose a soccer game they have a national strike.

I used to say to the devil with Canada's lost-time record, and in the past it was perfectly appropriate to say that. We had the most organized, orchestrated strikes on earth. If General Motors was shut down by the auto workers, maybe they hurt each other, but there was no real inconvenience to the general public. Oshawa might suffer, but who cared? Exhibit A right now is Sudbury – a tragic strike but the public is not being hurt by it, so who cares?*

But in the last five or ten years, the whole public service has become organized. Unlike private industry, where we can inventory and stockpile, where we can find ready substitutes, there are many parts of the public service where strikes cause inconvenience and hardship. So the growing public concern is understandable. That has led to calls for bans on strikes in the public service, and I am going to try to argue shortly that that is hopeless.

Everybody says there must be a better way. When the *Globe and Mail*, the *Toronto Star* and the *Toronto Sun* all say there must be a better way, there *must* be! But read their editorial pages carefully to find out what that is. They just don't have it. I'm going to tell you, there *ain't* a better way. Indeed, I would argue that there are worse things than strikes and lockouts and lost time due to industrial conflict. Let me turn to one of those.

The one I want to deal with is compulsory arbitration, which is everybody's answer to the problem. We should have learned from the experience in Australia and New Zealand that compulsory arbitration is no panacea. During the last six months I have seen delegations from both countries. Their systems, too, are in serious difficulty. They are in so much trouble that they have come to look at our system. I don't really know what they expected to learn here, but obviously they are desperate!

Let me just briefly review some of the problems with compulsory arbitration. First of all, who are we going to use as arbitrators? Historically, the employers (you people) favoured the judges. It wasn't because they belonged to the Empire Club and you moved in the same social circle and played golf together. That's what the unions said but that is wrong. The real explanation is because judges live in the past. It's called case law, or precedent. You don't change anything unless a legislature tells you to change it. Being for the status quo, it

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**Editor's Note:* The International Nickel Company's plant at Sudbury, Ontario, was struck on September 16, 1978.

was only natural that employers should favour them as arbitrators.

Now, who did the unions favour? They were desperate! They wanted professors! Why? Because professors are paid to innovate even when it doesn't make sense. That's how you get a promotion. It's a mixed record. People don't love me any more and there are some judges that even the unions like. But in general, we have a terrible time finding arbitrators satisfactory to both.

Then there is the problem of criteria. I don't have time to go into this, but under the Public Services Staff Relations Act you have to look at the cost of living, productivity, internal relativity, external relativity, going increases. And then there is the truck drivers' clause, "any other matter which the arbitrator deems germane to the dispute." He can do what he pleases, and hang it on that! If you saw some of the awards coming out, you would understand that they must have been using that clause.

One thing they don't look at is whether there is a recruitment or a retention problem. If people are already well paid, and there is no problem recruiting, and no problem retaining them, one really has to ask why should we pay them more? Yet try to get an arbitrator to even look at these real world facts. That's one of the reasons why employers are so disturbed about arbitrators.

Then there are the big problems with compulsory arbitration, for example, the effect on bargaining. Who bargains in good faith when you know that there is an arbitrator at the end of the line? The employer pleads poverty. He's down in the basement, saying, "I'm going broke." And the union is up in the stratosphere, saying, "We want forty per cent." And both sides stay there because when they know there's an arbitrator, they know that he's going to split the difference somewhere. No matter how far you move, he will move you farther. That doesn't contribute to bargaining in good faith.

Then I would mention what this does to union decision-making. I stress this point wherever I speak in Canada. There is more collective bargaining going on within unions than between unions and management. Union leaders today are managers of discontent, trying to reconcile the competing and conflicting claims of their members. The graveyard shift wants more, the unskilled want more on the base rates, the skilled want a premium, the old dogs want extra on the pension plan. Somebody has to sort it out and trade it off. When a strike is the only alternative, there is an attempt to sort it out to avoid a strike. But if you have an arbitrator at the end of the line, why should the union leader sort out anything? Why not dump it all in the arbitrator's lap? Let him make the unpopular decisions. This undermines a very important process.

I am very worried about what I call the politics of arbitrating. There is a big buck in arbitration these days – the *per diem* is good. For every day you sit, you can charge a day for preparation, even if it didn't take a day. And that is what they do. Anybody who arbitrates these days becomes very dependent on that income. They begin to worry about their acceptability, their credibility, their batting average.

They all tell me, and I want to relay this to you, that they never make an award except on the merits as they see them. I frankly don't believe them. I think they play politics. I think if they are getting a bad reputation with labour and a case comes along where they can get that reputation back in shape, they will use it. They would deny that vigorously and they will attack me, for this is the first time I have said this publicly. But I am dubious about their standards and I think it is one of the reasons why employers across this country are now resisting arbitration. Beginning with the British Columbia School Trustees Association, all sorts of public employer groups are now saying, "Give us back strikes. Lord save us from arbitrators." They don't have to answer for anything they do. They can render any award they want. They don't have to raise the tax revenue to pay for it. They don't have to live with the consequences.

I endorse those public employers who say, "Give us back strikes." There are worse things than strikes.

I do agree that we have more strife than we need in this country. Let's reduce the incidence of potential strikes and lockouts. Let me give you the most extreme example of all, which is appalling. Air Canada can be shut down by about ten or twelve unions. I've lost count. The airports can be shut down by another, different, dozen unions. That means that roughly two dozen unions can shut down our airlines. That is madness. If our Ministers of Labour would stop seeking headlines by intervening in these disputes and would stand back and look at the mess caused by union fragmentation, then we might move towards a solution. I will say this, and say it categorically, there should be no more than two sets of negotiations in the situation I have just described: one for Air Canada and one for the airports. I think the public could live with a strike every one or two years, but it does get a little annoying when you have to phone Air Canada not to find out if planes are flying because of the weather, but to find out which one of all those unions might have shut them down that day.

That's one of the problems I would tackle.

I still cannot eliminate so-called emergency or essential disputes, but I would refer back ten years to what we said on the Prime Minister's Task Force on Labour Relations, when we reported to God himself, Pierre, and offered him some suggestions, none of which were acted upon. What we called for at that time was a Public Interests Disputes Commission in the federal jurisdiction. Not full-time, not a huge bureaucracy, but a few people who know something about industrial relations, such as Carl Goldenberg, who would be available for advice to government or to Parliament when one of these menacing disputes threatened. I still believe strongly in this. If we had such a body we could get these disputes out of Parliament.

I don't just mean to criticize the Liberals. If you're in office, you are usually defending the right to strike. If you are out of office, you are usually condemning the inconvenience and putting pressure on the government to settle the thing, even when the only way to settle is at an unduly high figure. I would much prefer that we had something like a Public Interests Disputes Commission to which the dispute could be referred for advice as to whether or not it is serious, and if it is serious, what should be done about it.

I am here talking about things that in the United States are called "the arsenal of weapons" or "choice of procedures" approach, where the executive or the legislative branches have a variety of techniques to bring into play in these disputes, ranging from straightforward conciliation, to special fact-finding, to mediation, to partial operation (of which I am a big fan), to seizure, if that's the only way out. And as much as I hate compulsory arbitration, I would allow for it on an *ad hoc* basis as a last resort when all else fails and the public health, safety or welfare is really jeopardized.

We need more imagination in our procedures for settlement of disputes. The last thing we need is a fixed procedure. Unless the procedures are flexible, unless the parties are in doubt, unless there is uncertainty, they will negate the procedure before you even put it into effect because they will have allowed for it in their strategy and tactics.

If I may conclude this part of my address by coming back to a defence of strikes and lockouts, if you want to live in a free society you had better recognize that they are both necessary and unavoidable. Necessary, because it is the strike or the lockout, or the threat of the strike or the lockout, that is the catalyst in the collective bargaining process. Unavoidable, because you cannot deny a strike or a lockout to a group of workers who are collectively dissatisfied with their lot in life unless you want to live in other than a free society. There are worse things than strikes and lockouts.

Finally, there is the public interest in the substantive results of collective bargaining. Here I want to talk about the alleged relationship between collective bargaining, wages and inflation.

Let us begin by recognizing that, unlike most groups in our society, unions do their dirty work in public. They go after their piece of the action in a very dramatic fashion, often attracting a great deal of public attention because it is accompanied by a strike or a lockout. My view is that because they do so much of their dirty work in public, they bear more than their share of the blame for the inflationary mess we find ourselves in.

Unions are only one of many potential causes of inflation. I am the first one to admit that there are times when unions are one of the main causes of inflation. I believe that was true when, in the late 1960s, we had the "Pearson round," the thirty per cent round. But you also have to look at the government's handling of those disputes, its virtual sanctioning of those levels of settlement, to recognize that it was not unions alone who were responsible. We may now be coming again into a period when unions could be a main cause of inflation, because if this bubble we are going through after controls turns into an explosion, they are obviously going to have to share a lot of the blame.

But let us look briefly at the other causes.

First of all, there is foreign inflation. We are a trading country. If the rest of the western world is inflating, we are bound to inflate. My target for this country has never been more than one per cent below the American rate of inflation. Obviously, it has not just been foreign forces causing our inflation because we have been well above most of our trading partners.

But if you want to look at the real causes of inflation in this country, what really got the present spiral under way, forget about unions, forget about professional groups, forget about management. Look at our government and look at our bank. You can't help but think back to when we went into controls. I hate to mention the white knight who is waiting in the wings to be asked to come back to save us. But the wee Johnnie Turner was, indeed, Minister of Finance in 1975 when they ran a six billion dollar deficit. He then left, for reasons unknown, but he is awaiting the call, while he sends memos and gives speeches saying, "My, what a mess they're making of things."

Now, I grant you that his successor, Jean Chrétien, wants to prove that he can double the ante, and he's heading for twelve to fifteen billion this year. But I don't just want to blame them. We had another character, in this province, under Wild Bill Davis, Darcy McKeough, who has also fled to the wilderness, awaiting the call. In 1975, he said, "My, my! We're a third of Canada. If Turner can have a six billion dollar deficit, I get two!" To his credit, he only got to 1.9, and I must add this, he saw the error of his ways and stayed on to fight to get the thing under control. He was forced out by his colleagues over the OHIP increases and other sensible suggestions, which he at least had the wisdom to want to put in place to try to undo the damage he had done in the past.

When we run deficits like that, and we are still running them at the federal level, with the Bank of Canada sanctioning this sort of thing with twenty per cent increases in the money supply, how can you blame labour, management, or anybody else? The main culprits are government and the bank.

But I would argue that even if the foreign scene were under control, and if we had sensible fiscal and monetary policies in this country, we would still have a problem. What we have in this country, and in most western countries at this time, is what I call a rat race or treadmill. There is only one consensus in this country. It is universal. It is held by everyone. And that is as follows: "Everybody else is overpaid, relative to me." Is there anybody in this room who thinks he is overpaid? If you put your hand up, two little people in white coats will come in and take you away, because you are certifiable.

We have absolutely no agreement on the income hierarchy and the pecking order in this country. It has broken down completely. The great beauty of the system of the past was that it was accepted, it was stable. Now nobody accepts anything. Everybody tries to jump a rung or two over everybody else.

Let me say a word about controls, guidelines and other aberrations. My record on this is clear. I opposed the Incomes and Prices Review Board, I opposed the Food Prices Review Board, I opposed the Anti-Inflation Board, not just because I knew they would have limited effects, but also because I knew they would cause all manner of anomalies, distortions and inequities. But far more important to me is the fact that these devices only deal with the symptoms of our problem. They do not deal with the problem itself. If we really have excessive wage increases, excessive salary increases, excessive fee increases, excessive profit increases, or excessive any kind of increases, then the real problem is the abuse of power that lies behind those excesses. You can fiddle around with the symptoms for as long as you want. As soon as you stop inflation will burst out again because you haven't done a thing about the underlying problem, that abuse of power.

For a long time I have favoured what I have described as a Federal-Provincial Incomes and Costs Review Board. Let me make it clear before you get confused. It would not have the power to roll back anything. I want to get away from symptoms. I want to give this body a mandate to ferret out power and its abuse wherever it occurs in the system, be that in labour, management, the professions, government, or anywhere else. It should have investigatory power to move in and figure out what has gone wrong. How much power has each group? Where did it come from? They usually got it from a legislature. There are very few groups in this country with excessive power who did not get it from a legislature. I want that tribunal to recommend to the federal or provincial legislatures, whichever has jurisdiction, what should be done to bring that group down to size.

If we don't do this, we won't accomplish anything. I have a motto that nobody can quarrel with. It goes as follows: "Nobody behaves in the public interest unless it is in their own self-interest to do so." In this country, it is in nobody's self-interest to behave in the public interest. Indeed, it is quite the opposite. You would be foolish to behave in the public interest. Everybody else is trying to run roughshod over the public. If you hang back, you will be disadvantaged. That's where we are at in Canada. The old system of checks and balances is not working any more. Nobody is being called to account for anything. Once you have that kind of situation, you do indeed have the rat race and the treadmill.

We have wasted ten years in this country with these stupid review boards. Even when we had the Anti-Inflation Board, and had three years to work on problems, we didn't do a thing. Unless we are prepared to deal with power and its abuse in our system, I don't think it really matters what you do. I say this plainly, about organized labour. They are no different from any other organized group or powerful individuals in this society. They are going to try to get everything out of this system that they can. They are no better, and no worse, than anybody else. Stop blaming them for our problems, when we are all in it together.

I've really tried to give three speeches in one. You're lucky. I usually speak for fifty minutes. In the university, we are paid for fifty minutes. If you don't go for fifty, they won't pay, and if you go beyond fifty, the students leave.

I'll make one more point, and it goes back to what I said about Britain. It is a word of warning. If you really think that our collective bargaining system is sick and in trouble, and there are signs of that, you must recognize that it is a reflection of the state of our society. Whether you look at the social side of our society, or the political side, or the economic side, you find that it is certainly troubled. But don't confuse cause and effect. I have never thought that an industrial-relations system could destroy a country. If an industrial-relations system is in trouble, it is a sign that the whole country is in trouble. And I don't think you can reform or repair collective bargaining unless you are prepared to reform and repair other parts of the system at the same time.

For a conclusion, we have to go back to the beginning. I hope by now that you recognize that my overriding concern remains the preservation of collective bargaining, because I am convinced that if it goes down the drain, so does free enterprise and so, in the final analysis, do fundamental western values. They are that intimately tied together. My fear is that we are going to so mishandle legitimate public interests in collective bargaining that we will drive the public to demand of the politicians to do certain things about collective bargaining which will so undermine it as to destroy it.

I have cited a few of the things that I would do about the problem of strikes and about the problem of inflation. I think it is all too easy to make collective bargaining the scapegoat. It attracts attention because of strikes and high settlements and it's easy to blame it for all of our woes, but I am very concerned that we could drive our politicians to jeopardize our collective bargaining system.

I want to conclude on a fairly personal note, so that you will realize how strongly I feel. If collective bargaining goes down the drain, everything else goes with it. I say to you that all you are going to lose is your freedom of contract and your freedom of property. I hope that after listening to me you will understand why I happen to believe that's nothing compared to what I'll lose, and that's my freedom of speech.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Ian D.C. McPhail, a Director of The Empire Club of Canada.

FEBRUARY 1, 1979

Canada and its Land Forces — A French Canadian Soldier's View

AN ADDRESS BY Lieut. General Jean Jacques Paradis, C.M.M., C.D.
COMMANDER, FORCE MOBILE COMMAND

CHAIRMAN The President, Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: There's an old saying that "No news is good news." It is nowhere more applicable than in the case of our armed forces. To many in this country it probably came as a surprise last week that there are, for example, Canadian soldiers on the Golan Heights with bayonets. For more often than not the forces, and particularly so the regulars, hit the headlines only as a sidelight to some other issue. A classic case in point was this week when the forces certainly made the headlines but in the context of a feminist issue rather than defence. That our forces are out there somewhere and doing a good job of work, we know, but it is, I think, a pity that their professional skills, good works and the extraordinary contributions that they have made to the development of Canada are not better known to the average citizen and particularly to our young people.

And so it is that we look forward with a great deal of interest when a member of that small group of professionals accepts an invitation to speak to us. We are delighted, on this occasion, to welcome as our guest speaker Lieutenant General Jean Jacques Paradis, Commander of the Order of Military Merit, and Commander Mobile Command. To put that term "Mobile Command" in context, let me tell you that it comprises the whole field force of what was the Army and to which has been added certain tactical aviation units. If I may be so bold, "Mobile Command" is our euphemism for the Army and General Paradis is our Army Commander.

The General was born in Montreal, where he was educated in the Quebec classical college tradition. He graduated from the University of Montreal and at the onset of the Korean War, he joined the army. Our speaker experienced active combat duty in Korea from 1951 to 1952 as a subaltern with the Second Battalion of the Royal 22nd Regiment. He subsequently served in a number of command and staff appointments at home and abroad, attaining the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and command of the Third Battalion of his regiment, the "Vandoos," in 1966. He was promoted to Colonel and in 1969 appointed Deputy Commandant of the Staff College, after which he went to England to study at the Imperial Defence College. In 1972 he was promoted to Brigadier General to command the 5e Groupe-brigade, our combat group stationed at Valcartier. As a Major General, he was in turn Deputy Commander of Mobile Command and Chief of Personnel Development for the forces. Promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General in August 1977, he was appointed to his present command the following month.

These brief details were lifted from the official biographical notes on the General. Those notes fail to mention that he is a soldier's soldier and that he has a great pride that his regimental Colonel-in-Chief is the Queen. Those notes also do not mention that he is a Canadian patriot and his own force for unity. There is also no mention that he is a broadly read and scholarly officer who is also a trained and accomplished musician.

The General is a rarity in being a senior French Canadian officer. Let me explain. Whereas thirty per cent of our population are of French ethnic origin, only some twenty-five per cent of our armed forces are, and in fact ten years ago the figure was twenty per cent. Furthermore, in the officer category, the French proportion is considerably less, their numbers being disproportionately concentrated in the non-commissioned ranks. Less than thirteen per cent of all our Generals, Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels are of French ethnic origin and indeed ten years ago that figure was only five per cent. Lieutenant General Paradis is the senior serving French Canadian officer of the Canadian armed forces. As such, he is uniquely qualified to speak to us on the topic – "Canada and its Land Forces, a French Canadian Soldier's View."

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured at this time to present to you Lieutenant General Jean Jacques Paradis, Commander, Mobile Command.

LIEUT. GEN. PARADIS:

Ladies and gentlemen: This year you celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of The Empire Club of Canada. Not only do I congratulate you for ensuring the continued existence of a most worthwhile institution, but I thank you for myself and all those before me to whom you have provided the occasion to express views they cherished and who otherwise might never have been heard.

For seventy-five years the Empire Club and its members have fostered the freedom of thought and speech which we in Canada have always held as being a cornerstone of our democracy. This commands the respect of all Canadians. I am indeed honoured and delighted to be your guest today to address you on "Canada and its Land Forces, a French Canadian Soldier's View."

Let me deal once and for all, I hope, with a rumour which from time to time shows its ugly head. The Special Service Force based at Petawawa is not poised on the border of Quebec ready to invade that province. As the Commander of nearly all of Canada's Land Forces I must, as you know, be prepared to deploy battle-ready forces for carrying out operations in support of the entire spectrum of Canada's defence objectives. These involve, in order of priority, tasks in relation to our national security, the defence of North America and our NATO and international peacekeeping commitments. While no forces are maintained for this sole purpose, any of my troops may be

Lt. Gen. Jean Jacques Paradis,
C.M.M., C.D.,
Commander,
Force Mobile Command

called upon to provide, on request, aid to civil law-enforcement agencies, anywhere in Canada, in the execution of their constitutional responsibilities. Mobile Command is now, as it has always been in the past, ready and able to perform such a task in the future. But no one should confuse capabilities with intentions, and it is from intentions that plans are derived. I can give you my word that no plans exist for the so-called invasion of the Province of Quebec. And this brings me closer to the heart of my topic.

As a French Canadian, and a soldier, the very thought that divisions within my country could spark a violent confrontation among its people is repulsive, and it is a prospect that must be devoutly rejected by all Canadians. Those who speak lightly of military intervention apparently seem to forget the dismal record of failure of so-called military solutions to internal political differences and the agony of destruction, misery and heartbreak that accompanies them. The list of examples in our time is so lengthy and pitiful that I don't need to quote any. The very existence of our Forces in terms of our external relations is predicated on the principle of preventing war, and all facets of our foreign and defence policies are focused on that aim. Peace and order within Canada deserve as much care and prudence both in words and in deed.

The dismantling of Canada, whether the instruments that can achieve it are violent or not, is not insignificant in terms of world peace. It will demonstrate to the rest of the world, and especially to those who profess that this process is historical and inevitable, that, as highly developed as they may be, western democracies are unable to come to grips with their internal problems and that the world perhaps deserves, and is ready for a new order.

Against this background, the only course open to Canada is the building and strengthening of national unity. That purpose is not just one for politicians to embrace, it must involve every Canadian, in all spheres of activity, and yes, soldiers as well!

I believe that French Canadian soldiers are eminently suited to speak up on this issue. They know Canada and Canadians well. They, at one time or another, for short or extended periods in their careers, have served in every corner of our country and have learned to appreciate and cherish its beauty and its richness from sea to sea (not excluding the Arctic), they have served abroad on all continents and are proud of their role in earning the high regard in which the Canadian Forces are held throughout the western world. They have learned, by association, to love its people, and yes, they have learned the language of its majority, not just for utilitarian reasons or to earn a bilingual slot in the service, but to enjoy the company of all Canadians and to join in their pleasures and expectations. Indeed all of us can actually and honestly say: "Some of my best friends are English Canadians!"

They (and I speak for at least the majority of us who are Quebeckers) also know their own province well, and share equally in the dreams of its people. Born and bred there, they are proud of and enjoy the "Frenchness" of Quebec. They have friends and neighbours and, of course, many relatives among all parties. They support French Canada's commitment to the survival and enhancement of its culture, its language and its institutions. They also continue to believe, along with a high proportion of their compatriots, that these goals can best be achieved within Confederation, and that their aspirations, if fulfilled, can only strengthen the fabric of Canada. As a soldier, this inner strength in terms of Canada's credibility as a reliable ally in the pursuit of world peace cannot escape me nor should it escape anyone.

Of course, the ambivalence of many Quebeckers on these issues contributes to a large degree to the confusion that pervades the debate both within and outside the province. The French Canadian humorist Yvon Deschamps put it rather astutely in response to the usual question: "What does Quebec want?" He said: "Quebeckers want an independent Quebec within a strong Canada!"

Of course, he brought the house down with his remark. But the majority of Quebeckers ardently want to put an end to this uncertainty. They are eager to stand up and be counted as to where their political expectations lie. I am firmly confident that in the coming referendum, (I did not say Gallup polls), when the issues at stake are put before its people, Quebec will clearly demonstrate its will to pursue its destiny as a full partner in Confederation. But Quebeckers cannot do it alone. They will need "a little help from their friends" living in the other nine Canadian provinces.

In this context, it is no exaggeration to say (and here, I will attempt not to paraphrase Churchill too closely) that in recent years a curtain of fog has descended between Canada's so-called two solitudes. To put it mildly, it is the fog of obscurantism that contributes most to the current misunderstandings between the major linguistic groups of our country. If I have one fear at all about the positive outcome of the referendum in Quebec, it is the yet unknown effect these misunderstandings may have on the minds and the will of the majority of Quebeckers who are already committed to federalism and on the not insignificant numbers who claim, in polls, to be uncertain.

In this connection let me outline a few of the minor and major fog patches in the troubled Canadian scene, that in no small way contribute to exacerbate and embroil the debate now taking place in Quebec, and which play into the hands of those whose aim it is to pull her out of Confederation.

Fair-minded Quebeckers understand the natural negative response, or resentment of many, over some of the recent developments in their province and the severity of the critics about certain endeavours of the incumbent or even past governments of Quebec. But they are justifiably upset by the persistently heavy barrage of subtle and not so subtle attacks, in the printed and other media, that indiscriminately falls upon all Quebeckers, whatever their roles in Canadian society, their allegiance or their loyalty.

They recoil at the sound of boos, as sparse as they are, when Canada's national anthem is sung in French. They suspect the intentions of those who would paralyze Canada's entire air transportation system for a not too clearly defined fear of French being used in the air space above Quebec. They don't like to be reminded that they lost the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759 by persons who not only have a poor knowledge of historical facts but who appear to still believe they have a God-given obligation to complete the conquest of an imaginary New France. (I have already said what I felt about the notion of fighting it all over again!) They are puzzled by the response of those who, because of a few words of French printed on their corn flakes boxes, claim it interferes with the operation of their throats. They are concerned, and whether this concern is justified or not is not at issue, with the movement of head offices out of Montreal when it is insufficiently made clear to them that the reasons are based on simple economics.

The catchy phrase "French Power," and the uses made of it, evoke more worrisome connotations, if interpreted to mean that French Canadians are not welcome to aspire to rewarding and prominent careers in the government service or in other endeavours of national consequence.

The short list I have just outlined is by no means exhaustive and the issues it raises are not by themselves of equal importance or seriousness. Let me just say that it is the sheer volume and repetitiveness of the message, rather than its objective content, that can have an eroding effect on the hearts and minds of those French Canadians who are committed to federalism and especially of those whose belief in it is faltering.

"Sandwiched" between confusing outside pressures and the well-articulated internal entreaties and blandishments of a separatist minority who skilfully exploits every shade of misunderstanding, I believe these French Canadians not only need but deserve the encouragement of the entire population of Canada in a spirit of tolerance and true patriotism!

I have singled out earlier in especially glowing terms how the French Canadian soldier, because of his unique familiarity with the whole of Canada and its people, has acquired a rather special perception of our national scene. I would not be entirely truthful if I led you to believe that he is so thick-skinned as to be completely unaffected by the divisions in his country.

Of particular significance in this regard is the issue of bilingualism and biculturalism in the Forces. Let me cite you an example of the sort of "flak," as it were, that we run into. The quotation is from the book *In Retreat* by Gerald Porter. I quote: "Bilingualism policies for the Forces have had a particularly damaging effect on their overall efficiency and morale. The policy which originally intended to unite the two language groups in pursuit of a common goal is pushing them further apart. If the present program continues apace, the forces will be neatly divided into two language camps by the mid-1980s. It has been an expensive and vexatious exercise for most of those in uniform, particularly the English majority, who believe their careers are being sacrificed on the altar of linguistic expediency."

I don't propose, in the course of this short address, to make the apology for the bilingualism and biculturalism program or to comment in detail on whether it has been implemented wisely or not. Suffice it to say that the first page of a special study published last year by the Commissioner of Official Languages indeed recognized the past efforts made by the Department of National Defence, but devotes the next 213 pages to telling us where our policies and practices are out of kilter with the Official Languages Act, which, by the way, is a law of our land. The program is now under intensive review both in my Command and at National Defence Headquarters. I can tell you that the plans under preparation will not be designed to water down the program further, but to make it work. And there are good reasons for so doing.

We've come a long way from World War I, when only one major unit of infantry in the C.E.F. was allowed to be identified as French Canadian, and that was the 22nd Regiment or the "Vandoos" as they began to be known. I think it is fair to say that the Vandoos accounted well for themselves in the field of honour. Who knows how many more regiments of that calibre might have been raised had it not been for the shortsightedness of the governments of the time, who disregarded or feared to make any concessions to the reality of Quebec's cultural and linguistic identity? Similar policies persisted more or less throughout the Second World War in which French Canadian units designated for overseas service were restricted to four infantry battalions and one artillery regiment. There were sundry minor support units, and no armoured regiment. It would appear that it was un-Canadian then, as before, to allow French Canadians to fight in formed brigades. I'll spare you the story of how lavish the reception was for formed French Canadian units in our Navy and Air Force. I don't have to remind you either with what gusto, thanks partly to such policies, the majority of the young men in my province rallied under the flag! It is also interesting to note, in passing, that during both these conflicts our country came close to breaking up.

In the immediate post-war years and during the Korean War, right on through the late sixties, except for the brief appearance of a few sub-units of other arms, the Royal 22nd Regiment remained the only French language regular force unit in all of Canada's three services. There indeed was an active bilingualism program in effect then too; but it was limited to some translation and terminology work as well as language training, mainly to teach English to francophones.

Allow me to let you in on a little story about an army headquarters study that was done in the early sixties to decide whether the training area and accommodation facilities at Camp Valcartier, north of Quebec City, should be expanded to enable the stationing, along with the Vandoos, of a squadron of tanks and a battery of artillery. You might not believe this, but one of the arguments used to reject the proposal was that it would be imprudent to station any more troops in an area located under the probable fall-out pattern of a thermonuclear attack on the city of Montreal! As a Vandoo stationed at Valcartier at the time, I must say that despite this ominous danger, my regiment steadfastly held its ground!

In a period of rising expectations under the impetus of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, how much longer could anyone expect this kind of situation to persist without further damaging Canada's frail unity? Well, something had to be done about it, and something was! Since then, in this so-called decade of retreat – as Mr. Porter would put it – great strides have been made towards achieving a more equitable balance throughout the Land Forces in terms of linguistic representation.

French Canadians now have, as it were, their own brigade group, including combat and logistic support units with integral helicopter support, and a brand new base to boot! At long last they have a place in Canada where, at several stages in their service life, they may expect to train and work in their own language, and because they have access to a wider range of military specialties, they can now entertain career prospects at least comparable to those enjoyed by their anglophone comrades. And that is an achievement we can all be proud of as a federal nation. I can assure you that the "5e Groupe-brigade" is not about to march against Ontario or any other part of the country and is doing as efficient a job of defending our country as any other formation in my Command.

Of course the price has been and is continuing to be high, and the job is far from over.

The young French Canadian soldier or officer candidate joining the Army today can, for all practical purposes, count on receiving his basic training in his own language. But, for the moment, that is about all. Of course there are a few facilities and extension courses where more advanced specialties are taught in his language, but not many, and we are step by step improving on this. If he has any thought of promotion or of advancing in his trade or classification, he quickly realizes that he must know or learn English. If he hasn't already done so on his own, he can avail himself of formal language training. By and large the French Canadian soldier, as I've said earlier, along with a large proportion of his compatriots, has taken and takes on this challenge readily. This is not to say that this task is easy or in any way easier than for an anglophone to learn French. However, he knows that if he is to succeed, he must acquire more than just a passing knowledge of English; he must excel at it. But, as we say, in any language, where there's a will, there's a way.

Along the path of the French Canadian soldier's career, duty demands that he serve fairly frequently and for extended tours outside his province. He, at some point as well, gets married and raises a family. His dependents more often than not, have not, if at all, acquired the same mastery of the second language as he has. For reasons beyond the control of the Department of National Defence, I think it is fair to say that we have not always been able, because of the nature and disparities of the school systems throughout Canada, to provide his children with schooling in their own language. It is ironic to say that in the case of our dependents stationed in Germany, where D.N.D. is allowed to operate parallel sets of school systems, the experience is less traumatic for those young families than that of moving to many other parts of Canada. I can tell you one thing. Our "army brats," as we fondly call them, are thoroughly bilingual!

Let me tell you a story in this connection. A fellow officer of mine posted in Kingston, Ontario, with his young family, had a three-and-a-half-year-old son, who only weeks after his arrival was picking up English off the streets at a remarkable pace. So much so that, within the family, he had the habit of switching from French to English and vice versa sometimes in mid-sentence. The dutiful father, in order to correct this weakness, said to him: "Listen son, when you start saying something in French would you please finish your sentence in French;

and when you start in English, finish off in English, will you?" The child replied with a puzzled look on his face: "Dad, what's English?"

If only all the children of Canada were given the opportunity to learn a second language early in their lives, how much better off this country could be! But that is another subject. The point I am making is that the French Canadian soldiers of this country also have to pay a high price for their membership in the profession of arms.

Is it therefore too farfetched, in the name of national unity, for the Forces to call on their anglophone brothers-in-arms to devote the necessary time and effort to acquire a knowledge of Canada's other official language? For those who might express concern about the possible sacrifice of their careers on "the altar of linguistic expediency" – to quote Mr. Porter again – let me just say that there is a lot of room at the top. For example, at this time, of the 102 or so generals in the whole of the Armed Forces, there are eighteen who are French Canadians, or seventeen per cent; of the 314 colonels, there are thirty-seven, or less than twelve per cent. As for splitting the Forces "neatly into two camps" by the mid-1980s, not only is this perspective completely opposite to the current policy and thrust of D.N.D.'s bilingual and bicultural program, but the probability of its happening is highly unlikely.

For those who rise to the challenge of learning a second language – I did not say language training – and there are many who do, the rewards are high; not so much in terms of career progression, the merit list looks after that, but in the area of human relations, where mutual respect, an awareness of one another's differences and aspirations, friendship, team spirit and yes, unity, are really the only gifts that bilingualism and biculturalism policies promise, and all of them, by the way, are the ingredients that make up not only the inner strength of a nation but the fighting heart of an army.

I said earlier that I had every confidence in the favourable outcome of the Quebec referendum. For most Quebeckers, this will be not only a heart-rending moment of decision, but an act of faith in the future of their country. For many a

Canadian, no doubt, it will be a well-earned occasion to breathe a long-awaited sigh of relief.

Inside Quebec, there will remain, among friends, the task of healing old and fresh wounds, of pulling together the really not so different strands that make up Quebec's unique, but not un-Canadian brand of nationalism or its own vision of survival. However, if left alone, how does anyone really believe that Quebeckers will succeed in making of Confederation the true reflection of that vision?

The distance is short between disenchantment and outright discord. How far is it between discord and violence? The question of Canada's unity is not just an issue for Quebeckers to settle among themselves. And time is running out.

The almost patronizing and perennial question, "What does Quebec want?" I suggest, has been heard often enough, and there are sufficient elements of an answer by now. Perhaps it is high time for asking, "What does Canada want?"

The message from "out there" is clear enough. For what are all those noises we hear about nationalism, separatism, federalism, sovereignty-association, if not one massive appeal from a threatened minority that craves for recognition and respect, for equal opportunity to develop, to be happy and to prosper in the land their forefathers helped to open and to build, Canada?

Thank you for having invited a soldier among you to speak his mind in defence of his country.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by J.A.W. Whiteacre, M.M., C.D., Q.C., a Director of The Empire Club of Canada.

FEBRUARY 8, 1979

Economic Directions for Canada

AN ADDRESS BY The Honourable Robert Andras,
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MINISTERS

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: A writer in *Maclean's* of September 4, 1978, characterizes Robert Andras as the Prime Minister's fireman. Let me quote: "When a program blows up in the government's face, it is usually Andras who is summoned to douse the flames."

Whether or not it is a fireman we need, there is no doubt that the two burning issues of our time are the national economy and national unity. And we are fortunate that a man who faces these issues on a daily basis as a minister of the Crown has taken time from his busy schedule to speak to us today.

Mr. Andras has been the federal member for Port Arthur since 1965. He achieved cabinet rank in 1968, first as Minister Without Portfolio, then as Minister Responsible for Housing, Minister of State for Urban Affairs, Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Registrar-General, Minister of Manpower and Immigration, President of the Treasury Board, and now President of the Board of Economic Development Ministers.

Prior to his election to public office, Mr. Andras held executive positions with a number of business firms including the Ford Motor Company, Moffat Limited, and the Canadian Bank of Commerce: and as additional preparation for the various hot seats he has held in his parliamentary career, he also served as an infantry officer in northwest Europe during World War II.

I mentioned earlier Mr. Andras' interest in national unity. He comes by it honestly and perhaps more intimately than most of us – he was born in Quebec, was raised and educated in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and worked in New Brunswick and Ontario.

In his present cabinet post, he is literally at the centre of economic and fiscal planning policy for a federal government that is faced with the momentous questions related to the nation's economy. The Minister himself is said to be dubious about there being any easy solutions or grand designs on the part of the government. He is also said to feel that government intervention sometimes exacerbates the problems it sets out to solve. Let me quote him: "You can create dependencies that you cannot sustain." Furthermore, Mr. Andras has demonstrated that he has a high regard for personal initiative and feels that the government's role should be one of encouraging and rewarding that initiative.

Perhaps we will learn more about the problems he faces and reach a better understanding of his role in national economic affairs as Mr. Andras addresses us on the subject: "Economic Directions for Canada."

Members and guests of The Empire Club of Canada, I am honoured to present to you at this time the Honourable Robert Knight Andras, P.C., M.P., President of the Board of Economic Development Ministers.

MR. ANDRAS:

Ladies and gentlemen: Some of you perhaps watched a powerful drama unfolding on television earlier this week.* It may have seemed to drag, at times. And, according to your various points of view, one player or another may have failed to show any real sense of the great occasion. Yet, in spite of the imperfections, whether there was vision shown or an absence of it, you were witnessing Prime Minister Trudeau and

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**Editor's Note*: Portions of the First Ministers' Conference on the Constitution, held in Ottawa on February 5–6, 1979, were broadcast on national television.

the premiers playing their parts in the most important drama Canadians can ever face – the job of keeping Canada together or letting it split, forever.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have no gift for purple language. Just let me say, plainly, to you who are important leaders of opinion, that we all are *participants in*, not just spectators of, a drama of national life or death which is reaching a critical phase. It will not be resolved only by First Ministers, on TV or in back rooms. It will not be resolved only by the people of Quebec. It will be resolved by Canadians of politics, business, cultural matters, government, labour, Canadians who either have – or, let us face it, do not have – the mind and spirit to rise above special interest for the wider vision of Canada.

It is not easy. Interests *do* have to be safeguarded. Accommodations *must* be fair. Regional interests, language interests, economic interests,*are* much different in Toronto than in Trois Rivières, Hamilton or Calgary, between Quebec City and St. John's, Newfoundland, or Victoria, B.C. Compromise, within reason, and in this case within the bounds of a strong united and indivisible Canada, is a noble endeavour. Negotiation, within that framework, is needed and acceptable. Negotiation beyond and signals of willingness to go beyond those boundaries – quasi endorsement of partition, separation by any fancy name – is naïvely dangerous and unacceptable in both the immediate and longer term. Some may think, with dangerous short-sightedness, that we don't have a national unity problem – or that if we do, it is all economic and nothing else.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, we are bound to see the performances of our public players in this drama as uneven. They are searching for answers to complicated and intractable issues too, and just as businessmen and many others, they tend to be uncertain. They perhaps need, as do you, more faith and confidence in Canada.

There are reasons for uncertainty. Everyone here can cite his or her own. That's the trouble. Too many of us are too long on our own complaints and too short on a Canadian perspective that looks at others and our nation as a whole. A *realistic* perspective – not rosy optimism but a practical look at what we

Hon. Robert Andras,
President of the
Board of
Economic Development
Ministers

have and what we are as a country – would do wonders for our confidence and faith, and our economic and social performance. I am here to present such a balanced perspective, particularly with regard to our economic past, present and future.

To start with, international factors *have* given us cause for economic tensions. Since 1973, we never have been quite sure how far and how fast energy prices would rise. And energy prices have helped to upset the fairly stable exchange rate system we enjoyed for twenty-five years after the war. Another major round of tariff negotiations, now nearing a conclusion, has Canadian businessmen wondering how they will fare. Both business and government in Canada, where we are so exposed to international trade and capital movements, find it difficult to deal with uncertainty about economic growth in the major industrial countries, especially the United States. We move from predictions of recessions to good growth and back to recessions with startling frequency, making it difficult for any of us to develop the best policy stance. Finally, there is inflation the world over, caused by international and domestic forces, creating uncertainty about price levels.

Here at home, all those are piled upon the major domestic concerns about economic performance and the national unity debate. These sources of doubt have been with us for a long time, but they are intensified now as never before and they all have come at one time, so that the effect is pretty strong. But so is our resilience, if we will but face the facts. The balanced economic perspective warrants optimism and confidence, and the right policy decisions can only come from a balanced, realistic assessment.

With all that said, against a difficult background, what is a realistic and practical judgement of Canada's economic performance in the 1970s and its portent for the future? Let me look at Canada's record compared with that of the ten other top industrial countries of the world. I will compare these for the period 1970 to 1977, the last year for which we have comparative figures. And I will discuss the period 1974 to 1977, when our problems intensified.

First, the strong points. Canada was best in the rate of job creation for the whole period, including the especially difficult four years 1974 to 1977. Canada was number one in the rate of capacity utilization over the whole period. Over the seven years, Canada was second in real economic growth, at a 4.4 per cent annual average (gross domestic product). We were second in the growth of real investment, at 4.8 per cent, only a whisker, one-tenth of one per cent, behind first-place Japan. Now for the latter four-year period, Canada dropped to a growth rate of three plus per cent in real gross domestic product and three per cent in real investment. That sounds terrible, except that in dropping back we in fact moved up into first place in these areas – among eleven nations. That is a telling illustration of how the world economy has softened but how, comparatively, we bore up.

Again, we hear a lot about our unit labour costs in manufacturing. In fact, our increase was the second lowest (second best performance) of the eleven countries for the seven years: but we were behind the United States and since they take seventy per cent of our trade we had difficulties. And then, we had a disastrous record – there is no other word to describe it – in the years 1974-76. By 1977, however, because of lower wage settlements and a depreciated dollar, Canada was back to the lowest growth in unit labour costs among all our industrial competitors – and 1978 seems to have been equally good.

We were moderately good, fourth best among the eleven, in price increases over the seven years, although that performance has been weakening. In 1977 we had dropped to sixth.

In our balance of trade, we had real troubles in some areas. The growth rate of real exports of all goods and services was ninth among the eleven nations – raw materials, processed and even manufactured goods were in moderate to mediocre shape, but were dragged down badly by deficits in tourism and other so-called "invisibles." Our percentage change in world trade share was the poorest of the eleven nations. In 1977, fortunately, we shot ahead of the United States and Europe to second behind Japan in growth for manufactured exports. And we continued to fare extremely well in this area in 1978. Moreover, the rate of increase of import penetration into Canada was the second lowest of the eleven countries over the period.

We were great in creating jobs, but our unemployment rate grew faster than in any of the other countries. The labour force grew at unexpected levels, and we did not create jobs quickly enough to meet the aspirations of Canadians. This and inflation remain our major challenges and they are totally interrelated.

Another weak area was productivity growth in manufacturing – eighth over the whole period. Fortunately for us, the United States ranked ninth and so our exports could continue to grow. Moreover, by 1977 we had fought back and our manufacturing productivity growth rate was third best of the eleven.

That is our record in the 1970s – very good in job creation, in capacity utilization, in growth of real gross domestic product, and in growth of real investment. Our growth of unit labour costs was also one of the best over the whole period although we had a rough two years in 1975 and 1976. We were mediocre in price performance and productivity. We had a poor record in the unemployment rate, and in the share of world trade for goods and services. We cannot be over-confident, but we can surely reject despair. We have enough areas of basic strength, with evidence of substantial improvement in 1977 and 1978, that we should be able to improve our weak areas.

Let me now address federal government response to the economic conditions as they unfolded. Not to put too fine a point on it, the response was spotty and the results not very good from 1970 to late 1974 or early 1975. From then to the present, we have improved markedly.

In the first half of the decade, I think the government, and most Canadians, did not fully comprehend the basic nature and the implications of the changes that were taking place.

For instance, it was recognized that the jump in energy prices would place a severe strain on consumer prices, on international capital markets and on exchange rates. But it was some time before it was realized that the increases were permanent and would continue to escalate. It also was some time before it became clear that the transfer of real income to the oil-producing countries was significantly depressing economic activity in the industrial countries. And the German and Japanese economies moved to full maturity, but their currencies were never appropriately revalued, with great difficulties for the exchange rate system.

In Canada, at the beginning of the decade, we had optimistic estimates of our own energy reserves and our insulation from world energy pressures. We failed to anticipate the degree of growth in women joining the labour force. The task of job creation was considered more manageable than it turned out to be, and was expected to provide substantial economic growth and government revenues. Finally, price increases had moderated in the first year or two of the decade and there seemed to be some reason to believe that inflation would be quite moderate.

In short, the 1970s then looked like a continuation of the growth of the 1950s and 1960s with their attendant expansion of government revenues.

In that environment, Parliament approved large new expenditure increases: indexation of old age security and children's allowances, enrichment of the unemployment insurance program, indexation of public service pensions, expansion of shared-cost federal-provincial programs in regional development, language education and other areas. The financial projections seemed reasonable. We thought we could do all these things, and so federal expenditures increased very rapidly. Prices rose rapidly as well, however, taking indexed expenditures with them. Unemployment insurance rose as unemployment rose. The indexation measures took government expenditures out of government control, to a degree, and made them unpredictable.

Indexation of personal income tax exemptions since 1973 has made the federal tax system significantly less sensitive than it was to rising personal incomes. In other words, while federal expenditures were rising in part because of upward indexation, revenues from personal income tax were decreasing relatively, because of downward indexation.

By 1975 there was a clearer idea of the economic forces at work and four major shifts were made, as a result, in government policies.

First, budgetary restraint programs were initiated in 1976 and subsequent years, so that the annual growth rate of federal expenditures was reduced from over twenty-eight per cent in 1974-75 to under nine per cent in 1979-80. The federal expenditure "bite" on the Canadian economy, including continuing substantial transfer payments to the provincial governments, has receded from its high of 22.5 per cent of a $165 billion GNP in 1975 to a forecast 20.3 per cent of a ($258 billion) GNP in 1979. Incidentally, you may be interested to know that the United States federal government will be spending a slightly higher percentage of their GNP than we do.

Second, monetary policy became much more restrictive: the growth rate of the money supply fell from an annual rate of fourteen per cent in the 1971-75 period to a little over eight per cent from 1976 to the first half of 1978: it rose sharply in the last half of 1978 but in recent weeks is back on track.

Third, the anti-inflation program helped to cool off the inflationary psychology until the monetary and fiscal measures could bite. The rapid rise in unit labour costs came down to the lowest among the eleven countries in 1977 because of that program, combined with some depreciation of the dollar. Our record in 1978 was equally good and we are in a position to further improve our trade performance.

Fourth, in co-operation with the private sector we launched a systematic review of government policies that affect economic performance. We started by interviewing 5,000 firms across Canada, in 1977. Then we launched specific analyses, along with labour and business, of twenty-three major industrial and service sectors, which produced recommendations to the federal and provincial governments. A purely private sector committee, comprised equally of business and labour, produced a significant overview report. In all, there was an unprecedented review of policies on manpower, transportation, taxation, government regulation, trade and export marketing, competition, energy and many other areas.

Last November, the federal government issued a First Response to these separate industry task force reports – accepting some proposals and saying the government was already moving to meet others or had met them. The November budget addressed itself specifically to a number of recommendations.

One of the main tasks now occupying me and the Board of Economic Development Ministers is preparing further responses. We will have an opening reply to the recommendations of the review committee later this month and responses to each of the twenty-three industry reports by the end of March.

The Board of Economic Development Ministers in fact was set up precisely to review our basic economic development policies using a consultative process. Our job is to ensure that the range of framework policies across the whole of the federal government is developed and applied in a co-ordinated way, so that one department's policy does not duplicate or nullify another's. So the Board is actively reviewing major government programs toward industry, and consulting business and labour about that. Two specific examples are the programs announced last week for the forest-products industries and for shipbuilding. We are at present studying more industries.

We carefully review the allocation of funds of member departments, and we examine their budgets carefully, with authority to recommend that programs be cancelled, changed in their nature, merged or consolidated, and also to cut red tape.

The Board, with the approval of Cabinet, has the job of directing and improving the speed and quality of government support to private economic development. Our job is to provide more coherency and unified direction to the work of the separate economic departments, and to try to reduce duplication and conflict with provincial policies and programs.

What we essentially are trying to do is to manage and move the continuation down the road toward a more predictable and stable climate for investment, economic growth, the retention and creation of jobs for Canadians, and better price performance.

There is much still to be done, but there is much that has been done, and I must say that I get a bit fed up with the accusations that we as a government have had a sudden last minute conversion on the road to Damascus – that we are acting on a "death-bed" repentance.

No government, no country, can or is going to be able to isolate itself from uncertainty. This is a world, a tough, real world, of constant and often unpredictable social and economic changes.

But in the face of these, we in the federal government have been responding and charting a steady course particularly since 1975, toward greater realism, more predictability and stability in the broad levels of economic policy (monetary and fiscal), and more intensely now in government policies and programs that affect economic development. The clear thrust and dominant theme is that we are doing this, in consultation, cooperation, and support of a dynamic and competitive private sector which we believe is and must be the prime factor in a healthy economy.

We are convinced we are charting the right course. We intend to stick to it with steadiness although not blind stubbornness. We are not going to promise miracles. We are not going to indulge in cosmetic diversions – appearing and disappearing deficits – that are nothing but a fiscal fairy tale.

Our economy is deserving of your confidence. I am continuously consulting with business and labour people. My sense is that, behind a lot of the rhetoric, there is a positive feeling. Profits in many industries have been good. We want to see those ploughed back into improved competitiveness, expanded plants, new businesses, for more jobs and better consumer prices, as well as decent earned wages and dividends. This is in the interests of all Canadians – consumers, workers and investors.

One thing is for sure – many of the movers and shakers in Canadian industry are far more buoyant and upbeat than the theoretical economists. As for me, I know where I will place my bets, for I have always known that, while theorists analyze and forecast trends, others make them.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Sarah A. Band, a Director of The Empire Club of Canada.

FEBRUARY 15, 1979

Britain and Canada in the Post-Imperial Era

AN ADDRESS BY Sir John Ford, K.C.M.G., M.C.,
BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER
TO CANADA

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Your Excellency, distinguished guests, members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: I am delighted to welcome you, Sir John, to The Empire Club of Canada in this our 75th anniversary year. I want to tell you, Your Excellency, that in our seventy-five year history, we have listened to eighteen speeches relating to imperial matters and with the word "imperial" contained in the title of the speech.

In connection with the Empire and the Commonwealth, the club has heard 142 speeches. Now please do not think that I am implying that at 160 speeches we have overdone the subjects. On the contrary, 160 is not overly many speeches when this forum has heard well over two thousand addresses in its history and, by my rough calculation, has been spoken to the equivalent of one month and twelve days non-stop. And that does not include the introductions.

My point is that the themes, Imperial, and Empire and Commonwealth, are integral to the history of this club and it is singularly appropriate that in this three-quarter century anniversary year, we are addressed by the British High Commissioner and that you have chosen as your topic, Sir, "Britain and Canada in the Post-Imperial Era."

My reference book tells me that while foreign countries are represented by Ambassadors, Commonwealth countries are represented by High Commissioners. That this holds true over the years is evidence of the continuing bonds between the forty nations of our Commonwealth. And nowhere do these ties remain more close than between Canada and the United Kingdom.

Our guest speaker joined the British Foreign Service in 1947 following military service in World War II when Sir John was decorated with the Military Cross for gallantry in action. Following postings in London and Budapest, he was appointed Consul at San Francisco in 1954. Thereafter, it was back to London where he served for two years in the Treasury.

Our speaker was then posted as Head of Chancery at Bahrain, then back to London where he served in several Foreign Office appointments. Sir John was subsequently posted as Commercial Counsellor to Rome. Then in 1970 he was appointed Assistant Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office and it was in this post that he played a significant role in the negotiations for Britain's entry into the European Economic Community. The following year our speaker became Consul General at New York and in 1975 Ambassador to Jakarta.

Now being an Ambassador is fraught with difficulty as evidenced by the experience of the British Ambassador in Washington some years back. About a fortnight before Christmas he was rung up by the local TV station.

"Ambassador," said the caller, "what would you like for Christmas?"

"I shouldn't dream of accepting anything."

"Seriously, we would like to know and don't be stuffy. You have after all been very kind to us during the year."

"Oh well, if you absolutely insist, I would like a small box of crystallized fruits."

He thought no more about it until Christmas Eve when he switched on the TV.

"We have done a little Christmas survey all of our own," said the announcer. "We asked three visiting Ambassadors what they would like for Christmas.

"The French Ambassador said: 'Peace on earth, a great interest in human literature and understanding, and an end to war and strife.'

"Then we asked the German Ambassador and he said: 'A great upsurge in international trade, ensuring growth and prosperity, particularly in the underdeveloped countries. That is what I wish for Christmas.'

"And then we asked the British Ambassador and he said he would like a small box of crystallized fruits."

Following Sir John's tour as Ambassador to Jakarta, he was posted to Ottawa last year as the British High Commissioner.

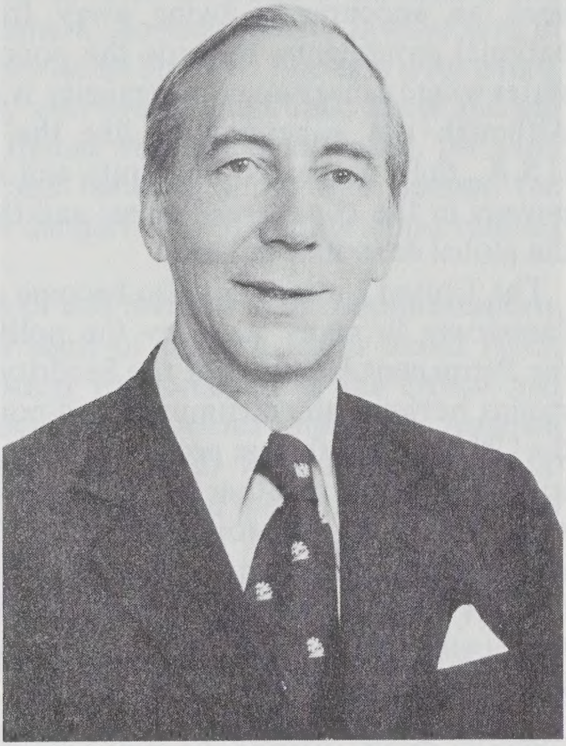
Our speaker has chosen to talk to us today on the theme "Britain and Canada in the Post-Imperial Era." Ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured at this time to introduce to this audience Sir John Ford, Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, Military Cross, the British High Commissioner at Ottawa.

SIR JOHN FORD:

I am delighted to be with you today. I proudly confess I am a bit of a square. I am one of those who believe that the British Empire was a magnificent institution; that when the history of the 19th and 20th centuries is written by historians in a hundred years' time they will regard the passing of that empire as a transition to be lamented; and that, if our imperial administrators are judged fairly on the standards of their day, they performed well. There are many people, however, who unfairly judge those administrators by the standards of today, and then feel a sense of guilt for the mistakes that our ancestors made.

But it would be inappropriate to talk about the past. I have therefore chosen to give you, The Empire Club of Canada, a few rather personal ideas about Britain and Canada in the post-imperial era.

That era dates, to my mind, from the end of the last war in 1945. It was then, under pressure from the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union and the new forces of liberalism surging up within the colonial territories, that Britain began the dismantling of her empire. But this had already shown signs of change with the development of self-government in the Old Dominions. That paved the way for the transition of the British Empire



Sir John Ford,
K.C.M.G., M.C.,
British High
Commissioner to Canada

into the very different Commonwealth which exists today with the Queen as its head. It is sometimes forgotten that there are now forty different nations in the Commonwealth with a combined population of nearly one billion.

But today's Commonwealth exists in a very different world to the old empire. The following are the main differences I discern.

Firstly, the emergence of the Soviet Union and the United States as super-powers has created a new tension in the world – that between communism and capitalism. Secondly, that tension has been aggravated by a fragmenting nationalism among the developing countries, particularly in Africa where tribalism has transcended the artificial political frontiers drawn up by the old colonial régimes.

At the same time, in the development of the European Community in western Europe and perhaps also in the much younger Association of Southeast Asian Countries, there has been an encouraging swing away from a narrow view of national sovereignty towards the concept of communities of states where a measure of sovereignty is voluntarily surrendered. Although not super-powers like the Soviet Union and the U.S.A., the European Community and Japan are already super-powers in the commercial sense: and their growth has changed the global economic balance.

The United Nations has also become a new force. It has been hamstrung in many ways by the political differences among the Permanent Members of the Security Council because of the strains between the communist and non-communist states. Yet the UN has nevertheless provided a forum for the smaller countries to gang up together and collectively exercise an influence some would say disproportionate to their importance. It has also inhibited the major powers from flagrant acts in breach of the UN Charter, although it has not, for example, prevented the Soviet Union from invading Hungary and Czechoslovakia and Vietnam from invading Cambodia.

A new phenomenon too is the quasi monopoly position of the Arab countries in the Middle East in the supply of oil, without which the economies of the industrialized countries would grind to a halt. New too were the International Monetary Fund and International Bank of Reconstruction and Development which provided a new monetary framework for much of the world's commerce and financing of development in the less developed countries.

Even more important than the changes I have so far mentioned has been the leap forward in science and technology. Probably more scientists are alive today than have ever lived, and it has been said that only in this century did mankind cut the painter linking it with its neanderthal forebears. This is creating enormous problems of social and psychological adjustment.

Nowhere does this seem more true than in the field of communications. Radio communications and air travel have made the globe a smaller place. TV has brought the world into the family sitting room. For the first time the ordinary man of today is personally aware of what is going on far afield; and the eye of the roving camera can emotionally involve him in events which would otherwise be ignored. The ease with which TV can glide superficially over events and public issues and unscrupulously play upon human emotions has placed, for good or ill, a new power in the hands of those who operate the media and brought new dangers as well as new opportunities for democracy.

Perhaps partly because of this revolution in communications, religion is showing new signs of being a major world force. Islam is a growing political phenomenon in the Orient and Middle East, while particularly in Africa and South America Christianity has been spreading; and, with John XXIII and John Paul II, the Papacy has developed into a new moral force on the world scene.

Against this changing background how have Britain and Canada been adapting?

In the face of Soviet imperialism both countries participated with the United States and Western Europe in the creation of NATO. Under the umbrella first of United States nuclear supremacy and later of the balance of nuclear power between Washington and Moscow, NATO has successfully organized the collective defence of what I call the cockpit of parliamentary democracy in the North Atlantic Community. It is a sobering fact that the Soviet Union, already armed to the teeth, is at present spending eleven to thirteen per cent of its GNP on its armed forces and over the past six years the Warsaw Pact defence expenditure has increased on average annually by over four per cent. Yet during that same period NATO's defence expenditure has declined by .6 per cent annually and the NATO powers spend only 4.8 per cent, Britain about 4.9 per cent and Canada about two per cent of GNP on defence. In the face of these gloomy figures one can see how right our NATO leaders were last year when they agreed to increase their defence effort.

The new nationalism in Africa and Asia seems to me to place a special responsibility on Britain and Canada. All over the developing world there are people struggling against the odds for freedom and democracy. They look to us for a lead. How can we strengthen their faith in parliamentary democracy if our nations cannot solve their problems in a democratic manner? What we do and how we do it has a significance that spreads far beyond the borders of our countries.

The fact that the world today has economic super-powers – the United States, the European Economic Community and Japan – has inevitably had its effects on the trading patterns of both our countries. Britain has joined the EEC while you have found an increasing percentage of your trade takes place across the 49th Parallel.

The UNO has involved both our countries in a global diplomacy. Because of Britain's membership in the Security Council we have had to take a policy line on world issues which might not otherwise affect our interests. So have you, particularly when, as last year, Canada was a member of the Council. These obligations provide both our countries with opportunities to play a positive role in world affairs. Canada can in fact fairly claim to be the most experienced country in the world in participating in military peacekeeping operations under the UN flag.

Like Britain and the United States, Canada is one of the few industrialized countries which possesses vast energy resources, oil and natural gas, coal and uranium. You have them in most enviable quantity. Britain too is blessed with oil and gas sufficient probably at least until the end of the 90s and with coal enough to last three hundred years. The technologies that have been pioneered in our pits and in the North Sea should be of value to you too. I do not think, for example, that it is often realized how quickly we have built up in Britain a modern offshore oil servicing industry. Ten years ago we had none. Now over sixty per cent of our North Sea oil industry needs are met from plants in Britain. Not all that industry is British-owned. But it provides jobs for British people and, unlike many of you Canadians, we in Britain do not worry too much about foreigners owning parts of our industry. We believe that the important thing is control and taxation rather than ownership.

Like Britain, Canada has played an active part in the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development and has pursued active policies in spreading aid and technical assistance among developing countries. I saw for myself, for example, what you were doing in Indonesia. Like other developed countries, however, both Canada and Britain are faced with a difficult problem: we want to sell more to the developing countries of Asia and Africa but we do not want to take their products in return. We fear that their cheap textiles and other mass-produced articles might put our workers out of work. Yet we must allow the have-not countries to earn their keep if world trade is to go on expanding and we are to move towards a juster world society. We shall have to let them do so by stopping making the things we have traditionally made and concentrating on meeting needs for other more advanced goods that they cannot make. This is a difficult process of adjustment.

Difficult too is the adjustment to the 20th century's great leap forward in science and technology. So many of the social problems which trouble our societies are the result of our failure to adapt quickly enough to the changing conditions under which we live. The very speed of progress increases the importance of hanging on to those stable elements in our society – for example, tradition and religion and institutions such as the family which have served our ancestors so well down the centuries.

It is, I suggest, no accident that the election of Cardinal Wojtyla as Pope John Paul II created such an immense sensation throughout the world. The divisions and disillusionment of the West as a result of two fruitless world wars seem to have created a new yearning for a leadership that will meet the needs of the human spirit in our scientific and technological age. If in Pope John Paul we see the hope of just such a leader, we can see elsewhere in the spread of terrorism and tyranny ample evidence that a new dark age could settle down on the world.

The picture which I have thus sketched for you is in some ways dark and full of dangers for all the values on which our societies have set such store. Yet it also presents ample opportunity for positive action and promise of better things to come thereby. Here I think that the activities of clubs such as yours can be of great help. By studying the circumstances of today in the light of the lessons of the past you can help point the way ahead and give the lead to others. In thanking you for your hospitality today may I end up wishing you every success in doing just that.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Brig. Gen. S.F. Andrunyk, O.M.M., C.D., a Director of The Empire Club of Canada.

FEBRUARY 22, 1979

Education, Freedom and Regulation

AN ADDRESS BY Professor James M. Ham,
PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: Listen to these words – "A stimulus of students, a prickle of professors, a dither of deans, a panic of presidents." With such forthrightness, with such humour, and with such insight did our guest speaker characterize his audience at his installation address. This was when Professor James Ham was installed last year as the tenth President of the University of Toronto. He has also succinctly defined the office of President as "one who shakes the hand of one-third of those present and the confidence of the other two-thirds." In these days when it is no rare thing for a public figure to be professionally packaged and marketed, the inherent humility in our speaker's quotable quotes is beguiling and imparts a reality that inspires confidence.

Professor Ham is a native of Coboconk, Ontario. He graduated from the University of Toronto in 1943 with a degree in Electrical Engineering, and then he went to war as an officer in the Royal Canadian Navy. After the war he obtained his master's and doctoral degrees from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he was also an assistant professor.

Our guest joined the Department of Electrical Engineering of the University of Toronto in 1953 as an associate professor and during the succeeding twenty-five years he has held increasingly important positions in his university, such as Dean of the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering, Dean of Graduate Studies, and then in 1978, the Presidency.

Professor Ham takes on the Presidency of his university, not only in a time of financial constraint and falling enrolment – however slight – but also at a time when the general public is questioning the whole process of education and its meaning in and for our society. Professor Ham addressed these concerns in his installation address, as well as, amongst other matters, the needs of the mature student, the demographic decline in the number of students, and the shifting away from a liberal education in the arts and sciences to the professions and training for occupations where the prospect of immediate employment is good.

Obviously, to be President of our largest university, one's personal and academic credentials should be impressive and impeccable – and so they are in our guest's case. I have touched upon our speaker's academic qualifications, but for those broader and less definable personal qualifications, let me borrow the words of one of the official guests to Professor Ham's installation.

Professor Donald Forster, President of Guelph University, said, "I knew him in the past not only as a formidable and successful dean of a major faculty, but also as a sensitive, tolerant, compassionate man, a scholar with incredibly wide-ranging interests and skills. He will fight resourcefully and well all attempts to divert us from our essential purposes and functions."

Professor Ham now follows his many presidential predecessors who have come to the Empire Club and spoken to us. Ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured at this time to present to you Professor James M. Ham, President of the University of Toronto, who will speak to us on the subject, "Education, Freedom, and Regulation."

PROFESSOR HAM:

As a new university president, who has been characterized as being one who shakes the hands of a few of those present and the confidence of the remainder, I recognize the importance of proceeding with some caution before the Empire Club. Perhaps I should be guided by Lord Acton who admonished as follows:

> If ever you make the mistake of entering upon a discussion of an educational problem, remember to begin with a platitude, because then the clever people in your audience will go to sleep and you will have no criticism from them, and all the stupid people will say "This is a sound man," and you will have their support.

In the presence of this distinguished audience I should wish to judge my success by the extent of the somnolence I induce.

Let me first cast out my guiding image for the University of Toronto. It is not simply a large and complex place, for it is that. It is an academic city that has developed over 150 years a diversity of intellectual neighbourhoods unmatched in Canada. It is for example one of few universities that has for years sustained studies of Japan and China and of the Islamic world. I am personally grateful for the public confidence in the university so tangibly expressed in the highly successful campaign to raise twenty-five million dollars in private support, superbly led by St. Clair Balfour and my predecessor, John Evans.

I would like to discuss in oversimplified terms the paradox of freedom and of regulation in our society and relate this to what I consider to be a tragic loss of faith in the virtues of liberal education. The literacy we have forsaken is not only of the elemental kind. The paradox I refer to is that between the freedom of individual life style and the growing collective propensity to establish regulations to limit risks perceived to be imposed on the individual by the institutions of our society, regulations which are providing an increasingly litigious ground for grievance and further elaboration while the clarity of our shared vision of the human adventure weakens.

Let me first identify three facets of freedom; material, personal and social. The material basis for freedom to have choice in our society comes about because the sum of human activity can, where ordered creatively, generate more goods and services than are necessary for survival. The excess in our technologically based society may be called a technological surplus or in simple terms a profit, the essence of which is a situation in which a

Professor James M. Ham,
President, University of Toronto

whole can be materially valued as being greater than the sum of the parts. Profitable human enterprise is essential to social investment in health care to limit the risks of illness and in education to limit the risks of ignorance. The medieval world achieved a remarkable technological surplus in agriculture through the use of the heavy iron plough and the introduction of crop rotation. Out of its surplus, which found its way into castles, courts and crusades, that society also built the great cathedrals and founded the first universities – Padua, Paris, Oxford, Cambridge.

Personal freedom within the material basis of our society manifests itself in the range of available opportunities for the application of one's talents and in the variety of life styles that can be chosen. Its basis lies in *competence* and what I choose to call *perspective*. Competence is an instrumental quality associated with a capacity to do particular tasks well. It has strong associations with occupations. Perspective involves the grounds of meaning and significance that each of us attaches to the venture of living and determines the images we hold of our world and of the kind of personal relations we choose to sustain.

Let me associate social freedom with the characteristics of the institutions of government, business, education and family which we have evolved to form the arena in which we both constrain and express our personal freedom.

It is my strong personal conviction that in our radically interdependent and troubled times, we have to a tragic degree lost faith in the central importance of perspective as an essential basis for the confident expression of personal and corporate initiative and therefore of freedom. I shall include the internal life of universities in my indictment. The most disturbing consequence is that we are in the process of constraining, with the litigious over-regulation of our institutions, the social ground of our freedom. Excessive regulation reflects a critical loss of trust in the likelihood of self-regulation exercised through self-restraint that is rooted in a shared perspective of what is to be humanely valued in our institutions and our society.

Many regulations are properly designed to prevent the imposition on individuals of unreasonable risks that derive from collective human activity, radiation risks from the mining of uranium, risks of defects in consumer products manufactured by industry. At the same time, as individuals, we claim freedom of life style based on open-ended expectations of the capacity of our wealth-generating institutions to enlarge the material basis of our freedom in a milieu we insist should be free of risks imposed by others than ourselves. There is an obvious paradox here which is destined to be intensified until the central importance of perspective on the human condition as an essential root of personal freedom is strengthened widely in our society. We need deepened perspective on the history that has brought us to where we are and on the ideas that have sustained the imagination of our forebears. We need to understand that there is no risk-free future at any level, personal, social or technological. The isolation of specific technological risks such as that of nuclear power systems from a perspective on the risks of being human simply sharpens the dichotomy between freedom and regulation. The risks of being human are illuminated by history, philosophy and literature as well as by highly specific evidence of biological and ecological insult that most assuredly results from human activity. The risks of the economy in an interdependent world are evident to most of us.

Let me illustrate what I mean by perspective in terms of the centrality I attach to liberal education of which the universities are the bastions, bastions that it is fair game to batter.

I do not suggest that all is well in our universities, for the social paradox I have been discussing is manifested within these institutions. Elective freedom for students to choose what subjects they will, when unencumbered by requirements for coherence and continuity leading to mastery within at least one perspective of human understanding, has in fact created the freedom to remain ignorant. In a society which thrives on packaging, the accumulation of a stipulated number of credit courses may be a poor approximation to good education. In our permissive and allegedly free times, the ancient tradition of academic freedom has for many professors become the right to espouse a narrow specialization without that responsible perspective so clearly defined by Northrop Frye when he said that knowledge has its centre everywhere and its circumference nowhere. One can build a sustaining perspective on the human condition beginning at any point in the field of knowledge, provided those who teach understand their subject in such a perspective and can stimulate students to search for their own.

Associated with the foregoing false freedoms espoused by students and staff, there is a further tragically false view among students that the most important feature that a university education has to offer in a society troubled by massive unemployment is instrumental competence to support particular occupational objectives, be they of chartered accountant, engineer or business manager. This burgeoning view is supported by some narrow-minded representatives of the media, of business and government, who hold the view that far too many young people are in our universities. I agree that there are some who should not be, but equal numbers of those who should. Only about one in ten of our young people between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four currently completes a university education. In the University of Toronto, four in ten are in professional programs with a distinctive occupational orientation.

No university deserves the name if it offers instrumental competence to the exclusion of the achievement of a mastery of a distinctive perspective on the human condition derived from liberal studies. Business and industry need the skilled trades, technicians, technologists and professional specialists. And all sectors of society need young persons who bring to the dilemmas we face the capacity to develop a variety of perspectives on the human condition. Having a sustaining perspective on the human condition is not a fringe benefit of an otherwise productive society. It is crucial to the vision that sustains a productive society.

I was appalled recently in reviewing with a major corporation its scholarship program, to discover that it offers scholarships *only* to students studying engineering, commerce and finance, and business administration. Since the program is designed to attract outstanding young persons into opportunities for corporate leadership I am saddened that gifted students who have wrestled with and won a perspective on the human condition through the insights for example of history, the classics or literature, are ruled out as potential leaders. To have perspective is to be able with time and effort to see over the top of instrumental problems to the state of human affairs and human relations that forms the context in which the day-to-day problems that require attention derive their significance. What institution is there that does not need what Wilfred Cantwell Smith called corporate critical consciousness? Sheer competence in solving operational problems is essential but not sufficient. The will to dirty one's hands in the earthy realities of work comes in large measure from the perspective one holds on the whole human venture.

The puzzling paradox of individual freedom and collective regulation is one that all of us share and not least the universities as institutions. If there is any resolution it lies in bringing to the day-to-day problems of human affairs not only instrumental competence but a richness of perspective on the human condition that is rooted in wisdom and a shared vision of the human adventure.

Northrop Frye has said that knowledge is knowledge about something; wisdom is a sense of the potential rather than the actual, a practical knowledge ready to meet whatever eventualities may occur, rather than a specific knowledge of this or that subject. As to vision, I note that medieval merchants wrote at the top of their ledgers: To the Glory of God and to Profit.

In resolving the paradox of personal freedom and collective regulation perhaps the basic question is: What do we write at the top of our ledgers?

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Reginald Stackhouse, M.A., B.D., L.Th., Ph.D., a Director of The Empire Club of Canada.

MARCH 1, 1979

Science: The Hidden Mainspring

AN ADDRESS BY Dr. J. Tuzo Wilson,
DIRECTOR, ONTARIO SCIENCE CENTRE

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: It is frequently the case that while a name may be often before us and may be so familiar to our ears, a name that conjures up the image of an important man in our midst, we may at the same time be hard-pressed to define just what it is that he does for a living. I mean no disrespect when I suggest that that circumstance could apply in the case of our guest speaker today, Dr. John Tuzo Wilson, a man of many parts.

The reason why we may find it difficult to pin any particular label to the man is because there are so many labels that we could use. He is at the moment the Director General of the Ontario Science Centre – that marvelous creation that has added so much to the layman's understanding of the nature of the world around him. Prior to that, he was for seven years principal of Erindale College of the University of Toronto.

He is one of the world's leading geophysicists. He is a world traveller, having circumnavigated this globe about eight times, popping up in places like China, the North Pole, or Antarctica. He is a prolific writer and the recipient of many, many honours and prizes. He has headed up an Ontario government enquiry into aluminum wiring. And for recreation, he sails a thirty-ton Hong Kong junk in his spare time. He was once dubbed "the benign cyclone of science."

But for all this, he considers that it is important for the public to understand about science so that, in his words, "people can make decisions about things important for their benefit, such as energy and pollution." His most recent achievement in the field of geophysics was crowned with what is termed the Nobel Prize of the earth scientists, the Vetlesen Gold Medal and $50,000 prize, the number one award for unique achievement in the earth sciences. Dr. Wilson has convinced the world's earth scientists of the continental drift theory which sees the earth as a dynamic mobile body with, as he puts it, "The continents floating about the globe like froth in a pot," – a theory apparently called "plate tectonics."

And now having taken you this far, I am completely beyond my depth and will look to Dr. Wilson to extricate us. Ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured to introduce to you now a man who today has his hat trick by appearing at this forum for a third time, a man who has brought great honour to himself and great honour to Canada, the Director General of the Ontario Science Centre, Dr. John Tuzo Wilson, Companion of the Order of Canada and Officer of the Order of the British Empire, who will speak to us on the subject "Science: The Hidden Mainspring."

DR. WILSON:

Ladies and gentlemen: On the twenty-ninth of September last, I happened to read an article on the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal*. The story maintained that it had been the invention, two centuries ago, of what the distinguished author called "industrial capitalism" that had been the cause of the subsequent growth in the economy. I certainly agree that growth has been splendid, that the capitalist system has encouraged it and that Adam Smith was a great thinker, but nevertheless I suggest that the rest of the argument is wrong. It was the development of the steam engine rather than any change in financing which made growth possible.

The steam engine provided the first source of cheap and abundant synthetic power with which to produce goods in abundance and transport them quickly. Before that, men had only wind, water and muscles to provide power and everything was handmade. Cheap energy has been the source of our pros-

Dr. J. Tuzo Wilson
Director, Ontario Science Centre

perity and it is now vanishing. It is not capitalists that are in short supply. It is resources. Adam Smith was the author, but, more than anyone else, James Watt was the creator of the Wealth of Nations.

Articles such as that in the *Wall Street Journal* do much to satisfy the egos of the leaders of the financial world, but little to illuminate the truth. The tragic fact is that because synthetic energy created wealth which prospered under the capitalist system and because the leaders in government and business are more powerful, richer and have more prestige than those who made the creation of wealth possible, many of these leaders have come to believe that laws, edicts, taxes and other financial manipulations are more important than production. This ability of economists to put the cart before the horse and then forget the horse is one of the tragedies of our times. It is the reason why the causes of our economic difficulties are so poorly understood and why the efforts to correct them are of so little avail.

There are three related matters I wish to discuss today. The first is why is it, if science and engineering are so vital to our prosperity and health, that their influence is denigrated? The second is to point out the nature of the change needed to correct economic thinking. The third is, now that energy is becoming scarce and expensive, what should we do about it?

It is possible to suggest several reasons why science and engineering are inconspicuous and their key role is forgotten. One is that, once an invention or discovery has been made, managers, bankers and lawyers move in to exploit it and build an industry. Generally they are not the original inventors, but they make more money, seem to exercise more power and appear to be more glamorous and important than the true creators of wealth. I say this with no chagrin, because even if often obscure, the life of scientists is fascinating and rewarding, but to point out how these leaders have come to believe, with the *Wall Street Journal*, that laws and financial manipulations can create wealth.

Another reason why science is forgotten is that the arts of all kinds, to say nothing of sports, receive immensely more publicity than does science. Again I mean nothing derogatory, for like everyone else, I enjoy the important part the arts play in our lives and I am indeed introducing more of them at the Ontario Science Centre. It is just in the nature of the arts that they have to attract attention. Few actors, singers or dancers like to perform in solitude and none of them can earn a living unless he or she can attract an audience. All painters and sculptors need to sell their creations. It is essential for all artists and for all of their colleagues who operate theatres and galleries to advertise and maintain a loud and continuous claque for the arts.

Scientists operate in a totally different way. They have not needed to advertise to get support. They abhor the thought of crowds pushing into their laboratories. Many of them like to make what they do appear difficult and then act as high priests of a mystery. Since scientists don't need publicity and hence don't pay for any advertising, the newspapers and the media tend to neglect them and few scientists have developed any skill in public relations.

Still another reason why science is not well perceived is that from earliest times men have collected those things which are rare and beautiful and have paid to watch the skilful perform. It was royalty and the wealthy who could first afford those things and, as a result, there has always been a social cachet attached to the arts which was never well developed by the sciences. Affairs at the Royal Society are hardly affairs for society.

Many people are therefore led to believe that science is dull, difficult and unpopular. This is a very superficial view which the facts do not substantiate. Many scientists may be dull, difficult and unpopular, but not a science. There are some indications that the general public appreciates this.

Among the most enduring of television and radio series and among those with the largest audiences are science shows such as "The Nature of Things." Newspapers are publishing more about science. The provincial government sensed this popularity when it built the Ontario Science Centre in Toronto. It immediately attracted 1.3 million visitors a year which makes it the museum with the largest attendance in Canada. This popularity was one of the many reasons I was delighted to be asked to join the staff. Its travelling shows reach another 400,000 people a year, or one and three quarters of a million altogether.

What probably will surprise you is that in those cities where there is both a good art gallery and a modern science museum, cities such as Toronto, Ottawa, London, England, Chicago and Washington, the science museum in each attracts several times, about four times, as many people as does the art gallery. Last summer, a group from the University of Waterloo carried out a survey which indicated that during July and August the Science Centre attracts twelve times as many tourists as the Art Gallery of Ontario. These crowds show that people are indeed fascinated by such matters as how their bodies and minds function, how their organs of sense and perception inform and sometimes deceive them, what skills they possess of strength and balance, how fast are their reaction times. The general public would evidently just as soon test themselves in these matters as watch someone else perform, which is why the Science Centre attracts as many visitors as the Stratford Festival, the National Ballet and the Canadian Opera Company combined.

People also want to know about the wonders of the universe, about living creatures, atomic energy, computers, solar heat, and how to insulate their houses. Science has developed so rapidly that such centres are needed to keep adults up-to-date and to show students many things that schools cannot afford. The Science Centre is primarily an educational institution, but such an entertaining one that people pay to come and learn.

Ten years ago when the Ontario government founded the Ontario Science Centre it was one of only a few such institutions anywhere. It was an instant success. Since then, science centres have proliferated everywhere, until there are now over a hundred, and new small ones are being opened in the United States at the rate of about one a month.

It seems clear that there is a growing interest in science among the public. I suspect that this is because people realize, if only dimly, that technology has been the cause of our affluence, and that, if affluence is now declining, science perhaps deserves attention.

At the Centre we want to satisfy that demand. Our travelling exhibits have been to all parts of the province and this summer, with federal funds, are going across the country. The Centre is constantly bringing its exhibits up to date, introducing fresh ones and trying experiments such as staging theatrical and puppet shows on energy to appeal to people with little previous experience of science.

I heard yesterday that Mr. Paul Deacon advocated sending Canadian artistic endeavours on tour. I cordially agree and in that connection I would mention that last week I spoke to ten million Japanese through an interpreter on television. A crew had flown to Toronto to spend two weeks filming the Centre for a one-hour special on the Japanese network. Canadian arts are good, but the Ontario government founded a centre here that is unique.

Another matter upon which I wished to touch is the matter of future growth. As a start I want to stress that I believe that the economic growth of the past two hundred years has been splendid. Since I can just remember the summer of 1913, I have watched the changes which have occurred in one third of these two centuries of tremendous growth and I know what great advances there have been in health, in transportation, in food, in affluence and in all material things during that time, although not much change perhaps in overall happiness and satisfaction with life. However I am not one who believes we should or can return to the past. It is neither possible nor sensible to imagine all the two million people in Toronto wanting or being able to return to a simple rural existence.

The most striking feature of all discussions about the economy and energy supplies is the contradictions and confusion in views. In the past month I have seen the president of a major Canadian company absolutely furious at the suggestion that the economy would not continue to grow, I have read a blistering attack by the Electric and Electronic Manufacturing Association of Canada upon Arthur Porter for daring to suggest that growth is slowing down; they state that the rate of growth for decades has been 7.9 per cent and this must automatically continue. This theme of getting back to overall growth at a rate of five per cent is a favourite theme of Mr. Chrétien, but we all know that recently it has not been achieved. On the other hand in the past month I have heard the president of the National Academy of Sciences in the United States and two spokesmen for major oil companies all deny that this rate can continue. Twenty-five years ago, Dr. King Hubbert, then Director of Research for Shell Oil Company, drew a series of graphs predicting the rate of discovery and the rate of consumption of petroleum for a century ahead. He predicted that both would peak at about this time and then decline back to nothing. The fact that the United States is now importing about forty-six per cent of its oil supplies shows how serious the situation is.

Such striking disagreements about growth and the economy are extraordinary when one considers how greatly our future depends upon the outcome and they indicate that the state of economic science is indeed parlous.

Such passionate disagreements about fundamentals strike a response in my own experience. Like every other North American geologist, I was brought up to believe that the continents are fixed. It is true that geology was then in a poor state. In practice it consisted solely of collecting samples and observations. Unlike physics or chemistry or engineering, it had no guiding principles or laws. Attempts to frame laws had been so disastrous that they were shunned. The science of the earth could explain nothing important about the earth. It was in a confused state with many arguments and no answers. In this respect it resembled economic theory today. Other scientists looked down on it and Lord Rutherford had likened geology to postage stamp collecting.

It is true that in the year I was born, Taylor and Wegner had proposed the theory that the continents are moving slowly about. Few read or studied their arguments and no one refuted them, but they were laughed at. During the next fifty years evidence accumulated to support their views and by that time a few of us changed sides. It was a traumatic experience to have to admit that we had been quite wrong. The effect was like a religious conversion in middle age. Conversion was not helped by the attitude of the remaining opposition. Feelings were high. I recall being booed by an audience of oil geologists in Dallas.

Gradually it became evident that the new theory could explain earthquakes, volcanoes, mountains, and much about the location of oil and ore deposits which had all been hidden before. All the experts had condemned the new theory and all the experts had been wrong. Slowly the Geological Surveys, oil companies, mining companies and universities admitted their error and by adopting the new basic philosophy cleared up the arguments and turned geology into a useful science.

This need to accept a fresh philosophy from time to time is now well understood in science. No nuclear or electronics studies were possible until Becquerel had discovered at the end of the last century that the atom could be split. There could be no understanding of heredity, genetics or the role of DNA until Darwin had pointed out the reality of evolution. There could be no understanding of the solar system or of the laws of mechanics, of gravity, of science itself, until Copernicus had proposed that the earth was not stuck on a pillar with all the heavenly bodies revolving around it attached to crystal spheres.

These examples show that the history of each branch of science has been similar. Each science in turn has to come to a halt, bogged down in argument and incapable of good predictions. Evidence and logic eventually forced the acceptance of a new philosophy. Conversion was slow, difficult and strongly opposed because it was always outsiders who first proposed the change and only later did the experts and pundits shamefacedly have to admit that they had all been quite wrong. The one fortunate feature was that in each case, when they did so, progress was possible again and the science, be it geology, physics, biology or astronomy, improved vastly and became useful.

It seems to me that the subject of economics has reached this state and that the reason is that politicians, bankers and businessmen refuse to accept the nature of growth. It is not, however, really very difficult to understand as a simple example will show.

Suppose that a human infant, born eighteen or twenty inches long, grows steadily at a rate of five per cent a year. Five per cent of twenty inches is about one inch; the child grows by that much in its first year. The parents would be greatly distressed. Five per cent is not nearly fast enough. However the child continues to grow and in about fifteen years doubles in height to around three feet. It is still a dwarf, but still growing at a rate of five per cent which by now is at a rate of about two inches a year. Hence in another fifteen years, when thirty years old, he or she would have doubled again to reach six feet. Everyone would be content and hold that five per cent growth, now proceeding at a rate of four inches a year is the ideal rate.

Observe, however, that growth continuing at five per cent would produce repeated doublings every fifteen years, so that the hypothetical person would reach twelve, twenty-four, and forty-eight feet at forty-five, sixty and seventy-five years respectively. It is thus apparent that during a single lifetime five per cent growth changes from being too small to being just right to becoming grotesque and impossible.

Fortunately for all of us, physical growth stopped at about the age of twenty years. We never regret this halt or imagine that life ended when we grew up. On the contrary it was a good thing and we maintain that other forms of growth have continued to enrich our lives.

Economic growth follows exactly the same law as human growth. The mathematics are irrefutable and it is truly astonishing that people as good at figures as businessmen and bankers are so reluctant to accept the limitations. They cry that some new form of energy will save us and provide unlimited growth in future, forgetting that the other three great elements of the Greeks, arable earth, clear air and fresh water are also all limited.

Four ideas have to be accepted. First, the magnificent growth of the past two centuries was not normal. Nor was it the result of any special skill in financing. It was due to the discovery of cheap sources of synthetic power which made possible developments in engineering, medicine and science. Secondly, growth is now stopping. Thirdly, a return to a static state or renewal is a return to normality. All nature and nearly all civilizations have existed without overall growth.

Imagine returning to view a primitive forest or a jungle, century after century. One would discern no change. All the trees and plants and animals would live their lives, die and be replaced, but the total effect would be constant. That has also been the common lot of mankind, like father, like son. I know it is shocking to many of you to suggest that that is what must happen to us and that quickly.

Some of you will not be able to believe what I say. Others will say what does this theorist, who knows nothing of business or finance, mean by telling us that our economic thinking is basically wrong? Politicians will think how could we possibly get elected with so gloomy a platform? I'm sorry. The fact that I have been booed before for an idea that later became acceptable does not mean that I am right this time, but I have pointed out a pattern which has been followed.

I would not be so foolish as to come here and spread gloom if I did not think we could do something. I am not pessimistic, for my fourth suggestion is that I believe that much can be done, but only if we accept the inevitable. Through the advances of the past two hundred years we have reached a high level of health and prosperity. Now that growth is no longer feasible it should be our object to maintain this level as a plateau. The danger is that in struggling against the impossible we will exhaust our resources and stagnate as in India, or fall backward into the chaos which the pressure of population is causing in Southeast Asia and the Middle East.

In Canada the severity of our cold climate may be our greatest strength, for it slows and could halt population increase. Then if we preserve our arable land so that we can feed ourselves when transport becomes expensive, replant our forests instead of mining them, restrict immigration, prepare transportation against the time ten years hence when gasoline will be expensive, scarce and rationed, we could achieve a reasonable future.

We are all, if we think about it, glad that since twenty we have been no-growth humans. We are all delighted that we did not grow to fifty feet tall. We have found a multitude of useful things to do other than physical growth. Our continued existence, in spite of the fact that we are all no-growth humans, should remind us that no-growth is not the same as stagnation. One part can replace another, one section can grow at the expense of another. After all, a poker game is an excellent example in miniature of a no-growth society. The exchange of cards, chips and money can be exciting, although the total of cards, chips and money does not grow. The science that has given us riches offers, if ingeniously used, the chance to survive in reasonable prosperity. The danger is that, although we can accept the advantage of being no-growth humans, we will fail to understand the necessity for a no-growth society, waste our resources and lose our chance to stabilize, and suffer a negative-growth or decline which would be tragic indeed.

The shortage of energy and resources demands conservation. The mathematics of growth preclude overall expansions, but activity, so far from stopping, will become greater. We have drifted into indolence. What we need is vigour, ingenuity, a realization of the competitive nature of life and a clearer realization that the basis of our culture is science and technology. Throughout history men have excelled in the arts and have manipulated laws and finances, but the west only became wealthy when its inventors developed cheap and abundant power and machinery.

Henceforth, not only will you all be no-growth humans and glad of it, but you will also, whether you like it or not, be living in a no-growth society. As in a poker game some will win and some lose. In the past all countries have tried to fiddle the rules to win by new laws of financing, and some countries like Canada have been able to draw fresh cards in the form of natural resources, but in future we should realize that only good cards and good playing will avail and that one should not be too confident that one will automatically win without really trying.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Douglas L. Derry, C.A., a Director of The Empire Club of Canada.

MARCH 8, 1979

Blame the Media

AN ADDRESS BY Peter Worthington,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF,
THE TORONTO SUN

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: It is my pleasure today to introduce to you the man who periodically stares at you from page eleven of *The Toronto Sun* – its editor-in-chief and our guest speaker, Mr. Peter Worthington.

I am informed that he is editor-in-chief, possibly because he was one of the founding members of the *Sun.* I take that item from a rather irreverent biographical sketch, which by its tone I presume to have been written by Mr. Worthington himself. Herein I think lies the popularity of the editor-in-chief as writer. He can be irreverent, reverent, or a wild-eyed fanatic to suit the subject he is writing about. You may not necessarily agree with his emphatic columns and editorials but you must agree that they often reflect the popular mood of the moment and they are always informative, frequently entertaining and eminently readable.

I suspect Mr. Worthington comes by his forthrightness quite naturally. It may not be generally known that his father was Major General F.F. Worthington, popularly known as "Fighting Frank" and the acknowledged father of the Canadian Armoured Corps.

Peter Worthington himself served in World War II as an air gunner with the Fleet Air Arm, and as an officer of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry in Korea where he was, incidentally, his battalion's intelligence officer and as such an expert on secret information. But he is first and foremost a journalist and indeed his writing talents were most evident in his military career.

Let me give you an example.

About the dullest reading in the world is a commanding officer's investigation report. I am told that Peter Worthington, while in the 3rd Battalion P.P.C.L.I., was detailed to write such a document dealing with an accident that took place in a football match. For a long time afterwards, Peter Worthington's investigation was used as an example of how they should be written. And, an astounding fact to me, it became the favourite reading of duty officers trying to kill time on duty. Particularly appreciated were the lines that went something like this: "Private Jones' eye inadvertently came into contact with Private Smith's boot, whereupon Private Jones commented, 'Oh, goodness gracious me,' or words to that effect."

Our speaker has covered major happenings around the world, and has been in such hot spots of revolution and conflict as Iraq, Syria, Cyprus, the Congo, Angola, Algeria, Jordan, Vietnam, Laos, India, Biafra, Greece, Czechoslovakia and so on.

He spent two years as *The Telegram*'s "Man in Moscow" and gave us possibly the first real down-to-earth look at day-to-day life in the Soviet Union in our time. He was on the scene in the Dallas police headquarters when Jack Ruby gunned down Lee Harvey Oswald.

Along the way he graduated from the University of British Columbia, won a journalism medal at Carleton University and three national newspaper awards in three different categories – foreign corresponding, factual writing and editorial writing.

Given this distinguished record in the field of journalism, had our guest chosen to speak to us today on the topic "Blame The Empire Club of Canada," I am certain we would have turned out in the same numbers to hear him. As it is, he has chosen as his intriguing topic "Blame the Media."

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured to present to you Mr. Peter Worthington, editor-in-chief, *The Toronto Sun.*

PETER WORTHINGTON:

Ladies and gentlemen: Thank you, Mr. Lewis. You've just given the R.C.M.P. added information to go after me.

I'm not sure whether I've been invited here today in my capacity as a journalist or in my role as a potential felon. When Michael Stevenson invited me early last summer, March 8th seemed sufficiently remote that it was safe to agree to anything. I didn't have a topic at the time, but there was an election imminent and I knew there would be a lot of material available. I would be able to recollect how awful the Trudeau decade had been, or how Joe Clark was falling on his face.

In that year a lot has happened. The Shah of Iran has toppled from the Peacock Throne – which was supposed to last an eternity, give or take a few days. We have had the spectacle of two Communist invasions of other Communist countries. We have had Vietnam, the world's second most brutal Communist state, using humanitarian grounds to justify an invasion of the most brutal Communist state. We have had the Chinese Vice-Premier paying a good-will visit to the old paper tiger, the United States. We have had the coronations of two popes. And we have John Sewell, who is our version of the Ayatollah Khomeini, not only being elected mayor but threatening to end the metropolitan system.

But we still have no imminent election, and I still have no topic to talk about. So I thought I would give a journalist's very personal view on what has gone wrong with the western world and what has gone wrong with this country. That sounds somewhat arrogant and impudent, but you must realize that whatever journalists and the media say means absolutely nothing. The media preach for themselves. Evidence of this can be seen at election times, when the press warns the public of the dire consequences that will happen if they vote for the wrong person. The public shows a cheerful disregard for this and votes for whomever it likes. The world stumbles on till the next election, at which time the press has a different set of candidates. The ones they favoured last time are now regarded as catastrophic. And still the world goes on.

Peter Worthington,
Editor-in-Chief,
The Toronto Sun

Journalists are usually wrong when they predict or analyse. I remember that when I was in the business of corresponding for *The Telegram* and travelling to various crises, on five separate occasions I had the King of Jordan about to be overthrown. He is now in his twenty-seventh year and the throne of Jordan is, next to Queen Elizabeth's, one of the most stable. Whatever I say today won't have much effect on the world.

I think there is wide agreement that the western democracies are in some disarray. There is indecision, there is confusion, there is lack of priorities and loss of a sense of purpose. In a sense, freedom is in retreat around the world. The totalitarian east has the initiative.

When the United Nations was founded over thirty years ago with some twenty nations, it outlined its high moralistic principles, its charter of human rights. In the interim, it has expanded to around 150 nations, eighty per cent of whom pay no attention to the UN charter. They are either totalitarian or one-party states with a complete disregard for the human rights of their people. The United Nations has become anti-western, anti-democratic. It has racial overtones. It is a forum for ideological persuasion. And paid for, I might add, by the United States, which is as logical as anything else.

Freedom House is a non-political organization in the United States which was formed in the thirties when Hitler was reaching his peak. It is a sort of barometer of the state of freedom around the world, right or left does not matter. Freedom House estimates that thirty-five per cent of the world's people live in something resembling freedom. If you take away India from this percentage, and India is a marginal case at best, you are left with nineteen per cent of the world's people living in freedom. Of 175 nations and territories, nineteen live in maximum political freedom where human rights are respected. It points to the fact that what we have in North America and in Canada is basically an aberration. We have the unusual, not the normal. Malcolm Muggeridge has pointed out what he calls the "liberal death wish" in which western civilization, like lemmings, is heading to ultimate destruction. The great American sociologist, Lewis Feuer, who spent ten years at the University of Toronto, has drawn uneasy parallels between today's society and the last days of the Roman empire and Athens. And Solzhenitsyn has deplored the loss of spiritual values in the west and pointed to the lack of will and stamina in liberal western democracies to stand up to unprincipled tyranny.

These criticisms are all true. The problem in Canada and in the western world today is that we have a crisis in common sense and a crisis in courage. We don't need leaders with great charisma or great visions or great intellectual pretensions or five-year plans. What we really need are leaders with common sense and the courage to follow it. We do not have those leaders.

When I was in the army, we had a drill sergeant who liked to say that common sense was so rare that it was often mistaken for genius. It was true then, and I think that common sense is even more rare today.

The four main villains in this loss of common sense in our society, the four horsemen of the modern apocalypse, are the politicians, the academics and intellectuals, the church and the media, not necessarily in that order. The masses, the people who work for a living, *have* common sense.

The media are the most important, because the others all come together in the media and use the media as a channel of communication. But I think these elements are responsible for the collective confusion that we have. They have lost any common sense they might have had, and this confuses the people. This lack of common sense is responsible for the sort of thinking we have in the CBC when the president announces that there is something wrong with the Canadian people because they don't like CBC programming and prefer to watch American. Common sense indicates that they should change the programming. But the CBC wants to change the people! It wants laws passed to make it more difficult for people to have freedom of choice in what they see.

The lack of common sense can be seen in the great Canadian pastime of searching for our identity. There are a lot of people in the media and among the academics who make very good livings on Canada Council grants searching for this elusive identity as if it were some sort of Holy Grail. But the people of the country have no doubts about their identity. They work in garages or on farms. Whenever required, they go into the army and fight for their country. They may not be able to articulate what the Canadian identity is, but they know they are Canadians and they have no doubts to the contrary.

A lack of common sense follows the myth that you can unify or build a nation on two equal languages. There has to be one language which is the language of communication. The Soviets know this. They have a mass of languages. They can speak anything they like, but the language of communication among them all is Russian. India, the world's largest democracy (struggling though it may be, it is one of the phenomena of our time that it became a democracy), would not have become a nation if there had not been a single language in parliament, English, in which the various representatives could talk to one another. Kenya, which has thirty or forty dialects, has one common language, Swahili, plus the language of law and parliament which is English.

Why have these four elements lost touch with the people? I think it is at least partly because they live in a cocoon. They have never really worked for a living. They haven't worked with their hands, got their fingernails dirty, or had to meet payrolls.

The politicians seem to think that their basic duty is to get elected, and that their second duty is to get re-elected. They have more common sense than the other three, but they lack the courage to follow it. They listen to the intellectuals and appoint them to commissions. They listen to the media. In this town, they all read and believe *The Globe and Mail* editorials, although they can't understand them. When it comes to elections, they like to have *The Sun* supporting them because they think *The Sun* is in touch with the people who vote, but they don't like our editorials much! There is a cry in this country for politicians with common sense and the courage to do what they know is right.

The academics believe that they have a monopoly on truth. They tend to see the world as they would like it to be, or as they think it should be, rather than as it is. This would be harmless if the government and the media did not pay attention to them. But they are put on commissions, hired as consultants, and every element of the media has its tame academic who they can consult on any occasion. If a Soviet satellite crashes in the north, we consult an academic. We have academics feeding crude oil to polar bears to see what will happen to them. Any fool can tell you what will happen. Then some other academic will tell you what it all means, whether the subject is Iran, or racism or pollution. Sometimes it's the *same* academic who will produce an opinion on all these things.

Academics and intellectuals live in a cocoon world, and they are, historically, usually wrong. They traipsed off to Moscow in the thirties to worship at the altar of Stalin, expecting this butcher to produce some formula for Utopia. It defied all common sense that one would find in the Soviet Union, busy purging its own people by the million, some recipe for paradise in the west. The same sort were pledged to disarmament, prewar. The Oxford Group told us that disarming would lead to peace. It led directly to Hitler and World War II. We have the same thing today. In the face of the Soviet Union, the world's most aggressive imperialistic force, a massive military machine, the greatest nuclear force in the world, we have an element who wants us to prove our good will by disarming.

Mao Tse-tung (who is not so highly regarded by his successors) was the object of pilgrimages from westerners seeking salvation. Our own Prime Minister, in the days when he was an intellectual, wrote in glowing terms of Mao and talked about "his tired eyes which had seen too much of the misery of mankind," overlooking entirely the fact that the man behind those tired eyes had caused more misery than any other individual in history: thirty million people dead. A totalitarian régime may be very necessary for a country like China. I don't argue against that at all. But it is no excuse for us to overlook all the negative characteristics. As Daniel Moynihan once pointed out, intellectuals go to China and they note the absence of flies but they don't note the absence of freedom. They go to India and see the presence of flies, but they don't see the presence of freedom. There is a lack of basic logic.

In our country in the sixties the universities were the arenas of revolutionary idealism. The people who should have been defending academic freedom, the academics, were often cowed or convinced not only to tolerate the nonsense on the campuses, but to actually participate in it and in cases to lead it. The university should not be an arena for revolution, although all the revolutionaries have come from the academic world – Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Mao, Castro, Allende. I think you could state a law that common sense tends to deteriorate in direct proportion to the amount of exposure a person has to the academic environment.

Now the church. (And I'm not even going to get into the homosexual bit.*) I think the church has basically abandoned its spiritual role for the secular world. The churches are into social activism, ideological change, political indoctrination. The Pope tried to point this out recently in Mexico, and tried to ease the priests in Latin America back, away from the revolutionary movements, into their proper role. It is interesting that the bishops there have already corrupted and distorted his message to justify what they are doing. Without being unnecessarily mean, I think the church has caused more misery and bloodshed than any other single group I have mentioned.

**Editor's Note*: Mr. Worthington's reference is to the recent decision taken by the Anglican Church of Canada to accept homosexuals into the ministry.

Ten years ago we had the situation in Biafra, where the funds collected by the church for humanitarian aid were used for guns. They supported a black demagogue whom they insisted on seeing as a messiah. The result of the church's involvement in Biafra was that a civil war that would have ended within months, with a few thousands dead, was prolonged for two years and resulted in about two million dead. The church is doing the same thing in southern Africa right now, especially the World Council of Churches. They are involved in Rhodesia in the Patriotic Front, which does not want black majority rule. It wants black minority rule, like every other black state in Africa. The tragic irony of Rhodesia is that the Smith régime, which nobody liked very much, has surrendered. It has capitulated. All it is trying to do now is to salvage some way to co-operate and live in Rhodesia under black rule. We have two men of God among the black moderates – Reverend Sithole and Bishop Muzorewa – who are abandoned by the western church when they should be supported. They are not puppets. They have been revolutionaries themselves; they have been imprisoned. But the church insists on supporting the butchers, for that is what they are.

The Vatican pursues its dialogue with Marxism in which it has been engaged in for years, to the point where people like Cardinal Mindszenty have felt betrayed. All denominations have lost common sense. The United Church claims that there is more religious freedom in the Soviet Union now. They base this on information from the priests and Baptist ministers who operate in Moscow. But again, this defies common sense, because these people have made compromises with the K.G.B. The Soviet constitution is the best constitution in the world, and the most meaningless. (It should be a lesson to us when we bring ours home.) It guarantees every citizen the right to pray, and it also guarantees every atheist the right to carry on anti-religious propaganda – which is like having a hockey game when one team can't shoot at the other team's goal. Under those circumstances, I imagine even the Leafs could get a draw with the Canadiens. The Soviet criminal law carries a five-year sentence if you conduct a religious service in the wrong place. If you have a religious service in your apartment or in the woods, if you teach Sunday school, it's five years in prison. Yet the church ignores this.

As for the media, the one thing the media should have is common sense. They are the great conduit of knowledge to the people. They have to reduce the complex to the simple, and dispense it. But the members of the media in this country have no training whatsoever. Journalism has become trendy, it has become fashionable. All it takes to become a journalist is the nerve and the opportunity. That's how I got into it! But we have no particular skills. Most of us type with two fingers; we can't take shorthand. The greenest stenographer entering the job market has more mechanical skills than the most exalted journalist at the end of his career.

We have a fairly active and energetic board of directors at *The Sun*, who think they know more about journalism than they do, and they all seem to have relatives, nieces and nephews who are unemployed, and this suits them ideally, in their minds, to work on newspapers as reporters. It's insulting, in a way, when one is in the business. They don't last that long, but just the fact that they arrive is rather upsetting. Last year, when my fourteen-year-old son suddenly discovered that you need money in this society and was looking for a way to get it, I went to one of the board of directors and asked him if my son could article in his law firm. And do you know, Eddy Goodman was offended!

It used to be that if something appeared in the paper, it was assumed to be true. Not long ago the Harris poll did a credibility test in the media and they found that the credibility ratio was down to twenty-six per cent. That's only a percentage point or two higher than that of lawyers. And the lawyers were only slightly more credible than the politicians. This should give all three cause for alarm.

One characteristic of the press is cripple-kicking, and another is the herd instinct. Everybody piles on the same story. If you check the entertainment pages, you'll find everybody pushing the same entertainer. The stories that are missed by the media reflect upon their lack of common sense and lack of judgment.

Take for example, Taiwan. You don't read anything about it. Taiwan, with American aid, has become the second most prosperous and economically sound country in Asia. It has gone from receiving aid to the point where it now gives aid. It doesn't invade anybody. And yet our Prime Minister unilaterally expels it from the Olympics. Taiwan has become the pariah of the world. And the media, which should be immune to this trendy following, should at least be pointing out the other side.

When we talk about Rhodesia, we never see in the press that seventy-five per cent of the Rhodesian forces are black volunteers, with black officers commanding whites. That's an interesting point, and should cause some questioning of conventional opinion. The "boat people" of Indochina, whom we "discovered" last fall, have been in existence for four years, since 1975. Most of them drown when they push off from the peninsula. We never raised the question in the press or tried to find out about them.

All through the Vietnam war, we never asked why refugees always headed south. In the last days of the collapse, no refugees headed north towards the liberators. They all headed south, jumped off the end and swam out to sea. Our press rationale was that they were all brainwashed by Voice of America. That doesn't stand the test of logic.

We pay attention to people like Andrew Brewin, who is our version of Jane Fonda, assuring us that Hanoi could be trusted and would live up to cease-fire agreements. It didn't. Where are those people now? Silent.

There is an organization called Amnesty International, the most respected of the groups looking into human rights and political repression. It won a Nobel Prize. In the last year of the Vietnam war, Amnesty International's report had one-third of a page on political repression in North Vietnam and three pages on South Vietnam. Last year, Amnesty International had a half-page on political repression in Canada, dealing with an

Indian who was extradited to the United States for the murder of two FBI agents, a political crime. It had the same amount of space on Equitorial Guinea, which is the most barbaric state in Africa, where approximately one-third of the population has been killed, one-third has fled to neighbouring countries, and one-third exists in actual slavery. In the first year of peace in Vietnam, Amnesty International's report had one page on Cambodia, with the rider that it was hearsay evidence. They had four pages about repression in South Africa.

The proportions are wrong. We now know that in Cambodia, in the first year of peace, one million people were killed by the "liberators." That is twice the number killed in five years of warfare.

There is a publication in the United States, *Accuracy in the Media*, which watch-dogs the media. It is an interesting publication to read, to see the other side. It monitored *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* for one year on human-rights stories. In the *Times* there were 291 human-rights stories on South Africa and four on Cambodia. It had sixty-one stories on human rights in South Korea and none on North Korea. It had sixty-one stories on Chile and three on Cuba. The *Post* had similar ratios.

The priorities are wrong and common sense is lacking. The world's free media have let their citizens down. In Canada, we have the worst political reporting in the free world. The Press Gallery, supposedly the cream of our journalists, are the most docile, lacklustre, subservient and regurgitative in the western world.

In all these remarks, I don't exclude myself or *The Sun*, which I sometimes think is *The New York Times* of Canada. In 1968, when Trudeau was first running, we couldn't even find out his age! Was he forty-nine or forty-seven? He wouldn't tell us and we couldn't find out. Some people thought he lost those years in the war! We were so mesmerized by this man that we never looked at him. If you quoted Trudeau's earlier writings, it was branded as hate literature. At *The Telegram* at the time I was mildly interested in him and tried to write some things, but in a Tory paper like *The Telegram* it couldn't get published. It wasn't fashionable. You can say those things now that it's too late.

We used to like to say that Watergate couldn't happen in Canada because of our system. That's right, but for the wrong reasons. The press would never have dug out a Watergate in this country. It couldn't happen here because we have a government which has misused the parliamentary system to establish a dictatorial control over the country and it never investigates itself. We have situations here that are infinitely worse than Watergate. Take a simple thing like the Prime Minister's swimming pool, donated by twenty anonymous businessmen who get tax relief and God knows what other favours. Do you think that could happen in the United States? What is interesting is that five years later, not one of these businessmen is sufficiently disillusioned to come forward and say, "I was had." The idea is beginning to seep through that there may not have been twenty businessmen, but that this was public money funneled through. That's perfectly all right. Many people would agree that public money should be used to build a swimming pool for the Prime Minister, but openly, not secretly.

We sold nuclear reactors to South Korea and that bastion of democracy, Argentina. What we were doing selling them reactors is another question. But the fact is that we did, and then the Auditor General found twenty million dollars unaccounted for. When he questioned it, it was discovered that it had gone for agents' fees. When the Public Accounts Committee investigated, the head of the Atomic Energy Commission had a lapse of memory. Nothing was done until a year later when somebody asked the South Koreans about this agents' fee and they said that they didn't want to use an agent. They said that they saw the reactor at Pickering and went to the Canadian government and were told that they had to go to an agent. The whole thing reeks of kickbacks, fixes, payoffs. But nobody can get at the truth.

We enter into an uranium cartel with France, Australia, the Rothschilds in Britain and hated South Africa, to quadruple the price of uranium. The government then passes an order-in-council law making it illegal for any Canadian to mention or write about the uranium agreement, punishable by one year in jail. We won't let our athletes play sports with South Africa but we enter into secret deals with them. The press let that one slide by. It was a one-day wonder and now it's gone.

The case of Peter Treu has had a lot of publicity lately. That started four or five years ago, but there was no fuss at the time. They managed to have a secret trial by the simple expedient of scheduling the court appearance half an hour early. The press didn't arrive till too late. The secret trial itself should be offensive. Then he is sentenced to two years "as a deterrent," but we are not allowed to know what we are being deterred from doing. There's a certain common sense missing there. And when he is cleared, and found not guilty,* the government which lays Official Secrets Act charges cannot compensate him – after they have destroyed this man's career, destroyed his business, broken his family, depleted his savings and ruined his reputation – because they don't want to set a precedent. But a year or two earlier, when a cabinet minister outside the confines of Parliament libels and defames a civil servant to whom he is trying to pass the buck, the government pays the damages, the legal costs and the costs for an appeal.

This double standard is unacceptable and the press should be more upset. I'm in a certain dispute with the government over official secrets, and I had to promise our high-priced lawyers, who are driving us into penury, not to speak about it for some reason.† But all of this indicates that we have lost the feeling of common sense in this country and in the west. I think that all we need is to return to having the courage to practise what our common sense tells us, and the crisis will be solved. It is almost as simple as that.

I'd just like to add one point. If the government is successful in its prosecution against me and *The Sun* and the publisher,

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**Editor's Note*: The charges against Mr. Treu were subsequently dismissed.

†*Editor's Note*: Mr. Worthington and publisher Douglas Creighton were charged under the Official Secrets Act for an article on Soviet espionage which appeared in *The Toronto Sun* on March 7, 1978. The charges against them were dismissed on April 23, 1979.

who is even less happy than I am about it, I hope that you will invite me back in fourteen years to talk about prison reform.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Lieut. Col. Michael A. Stevenson, C.D., a Director of The Empire Club of Canada.

MARCH 15, 1979

Business in a Fast-Changing World

AN ADDRESS BY C. William Daniel,
PRESIDENT AND CHIEF
EXECUTIVE OFFICER,
SHELL CANADA LIMITED

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: No subject is more in the forefront of our thinking these days than energy. And to most of us energy is synonymous with oil.

A recent *Financial Post* article leads off with the remarkable sentence: "Nobody loves the major oil companies." "Love" is likely the wrong word here. The writer could have used "understands" and have conveyed his point. A man who figures prominently in that extensive article on our energy industries and energy prospects is our guest speaker today, Mr. C. William Daniel, President and Chief Executive Officer of Shell Canada.

Mr. Daniel is head of number three in the group commonly known as the "big four" in oil circles: Imperial, Gulf, Shell and Texaco. And he is the first Canadian to be appointed President of his company. Indeed he is a native son of Toronto, born and educated here, graduating from the University of Toronto in 1947 with a B.Sc. in mining engineering. In that same year he joined the Royal Dutch/Shell group of companies and then followed assignments in Houston, Texas, The Hague in the Netherlands, and Venezuela, before returning to Canada as Shell's district petroleum engineer in Edmonton in 1952.

From here he had further assignments in New York, The Hague again, Calgary, and Trinidad.

In 1968 he became General Manager, Information and Computer Systems; Vice-President Transportation and Supplies in 1969; a Director in 1973; and appointed to his present position in July of 1974, a particularly turbulent time in the oil industry.

Apropos of his travels over the years, when the company magazine wanted a picture which could be regarded as typical, his wife, Ruth, suggested: "Photograph him at the front door with a suitcase in his hand."

Although the extremely busy senior executive of a major Canadian corporation, Mr. Daniel makes time to serve community interests. For example, in 1973 he was Chairman of the Metro Toronto United Way appeal.

Mr. Daniel's experiences both here and abroad, with a large international company, puts him in the forefront of those who can speak with authority on the position and direction of business, commerce and industry today. We are grateful that he has found time in a very busy life to speak to us today on the subject "Business in a Fast-Changing World."

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured at this time to present to you Mr. C. William Daniel, President and Chief Executive Officer of Shell Canada.

MR. DANIEL:

It gives me great pleasure to be with you today and I am honoured to have the opportunity of addressing one of Canada's most renowned speaking forums.

Looking back, I found that it was in December, 1903 when the Rev. Professor William Clark of the University of Toronto gave the first address to the Empire Club. His theme – imperialism – covered a subject which I am sure was hotly debated in the early 1900s. Today, I am not even going to talk about the British North America Act. My topic is "Business in a Fast-Changing World" – a theme which suggests that in the intervening 75 years our society has not succeeded in eliminating all its problems. We just have a different set to cope with.

To begin with, I would like to take a few minutes to discuss some recent trends in our society which are of major concern

C. William Daniel, President and
Chief Executive Officer, Shell Canada Limited

to business people today – and then do some crystal ball-gazing by describing two possible contrasting scenarios for the future. Following that – a few suggestions as to what I believe Canada should be doing now, in preparation for the years ahead.

Society in this country, as in many other industrialized nations of the western world, is at a crossroads. We have low growth, high inflation, high unemployment and a general scepticism about large institutions of all kinds. Big business, big unions, big government – all have come in for their share of criticism, because of their apparent inability to get us back on a sound economic track.

Consider for a moment how we reached our present situation. In the 1960s the industrialized world was riding high on a strong economic upsurge. In many areas, boom conditions prevailed. Economic growth was being taken for granted and social service had begun to expand rapidly. Concern for the quality of life and more emphasis on redistribution of income led to the emergence of the "entitlement society," in which an unprecedented range of social services began to be taken for granted.

Then came the shocks of the early 1970s: the OPEC oil crisis ended the era of cheap energy; the stability of the American dollar was eroded; government expenditures rose steeply and double-digit inflation arrived. Economies suffered, and suddenly countries were forced to question their ability to pay for the demands of the entitlement society.

Virtually all consuming nations were caught off-guard, and in their attempts to grapple with these serious problems, governments inevitably were drawn to intervene more heavily in economic affairs. Energy strategies in particular became a top priority of governments in most countries – and recent events in Iran have only served to emphasize the importance of this sector.

Quite an upheaval in a relatively short space of time. As a businessman, I am sometimes asked what the impact of all these events has been on our decision-making process. I must say they have made it more complex, more challenging and yet more frustrating compared with a decade ago. The parameters then were mainly economic. Now, increasingly, they are social and political.

The disruptions of the early 1970s have proved to be much more than a hiccup in the growth curve. They were a watershed and have forced us back to a position where we must again come to grips with economic realities.

I would now like to look at some significant trends which have emerged, and at the challenges they present for the future.

The first trend is what I have chosen to call "the risk-avoidance syndrome" – the reluctance to take a chance – which has resulted from the evolution of what I have referred to as the "entitlement society" or the philosophy of "society owes me a good living."

In such a society, it becomes necessary to further redistribute income. More must be taken from those who generate wealth to provide for the expanding needs of the social services sector. Inevitably, rewards for business success are reduced.

There is, however, another side to the coin. Where will the resources come from to pay for what is being demanded? Or put another way, is our society now providing adequate incentives to those who are creating the necessary wealth?

It is helpful to go back to basics on occasion, and to do so here I would like to echo the thoughts of Dr. Walter Eltis, a Lecturer in Economics at Oxford University, who addressed you earlier this year.

All economies have a great many activities where nothing directly marketable is produced – education, the armed forces, the police, health care, government administration. These services are essential in today's society. But they use up a great deal of market output and it has to come from somewhere. It comes, in fact, from the activities of many thousands of private sector corporations, large and small, and to a lesser extent from crown corporations.

The key point is that what is paid for publicly must come from the surplus of the market sector. If the market sector cannot produce a big enough surplus to pay for all the public spending, then large deficits will inevitably result, forcing governments to borrow. Balance of payments problems, a depreciating currency, inflation and high interest rates are certain to follow. In the past decade we have seen this occur most graphically in Britain, but also, and to a lesser extent, here in Canada.

The entitlement society has contributed to this situation. The growth of the entitlement perspective has lessened people's understanding of the wealth-creating process – a dangerous situation, since people seldom support a system which they cannot understand. And governments everywhere have encouraged the notion that they have it in their power to offer voters not only an ever-widening spectrum of services, but also a virtually riskless society.

Here is the great concern. If this trend continues, the possibility arises that business-people may join the risk-free bandwagon and shy away from seeking risk-rewarding opportunities. Yet this is not our nature. Given the chance and the prospect of reward, we do take the plunge. The needed creation of new wealth through successful risk-taking is the essential role of business in a free enterprise system.

I would now like to turn to a second major trend which is presenting enormous challenge to business-people the world over: the new international competitors.

As some Canadian industries have discovered, new countries outside the western industrialized bloc have become a major force as they emerge to compete in world markets. This process applies to natural resources, as well as to manufactured goods. For example, Mexico's oil and gas and China's coal are emerging to compete aggressively.

Where else are these new competitors? We now face the "new Japans," the rapidly developing countries of South-East Asia and other growing nations such as Brazil. Should we blame the Canadian manufacturer for switching some of his production to Taiwan or Korea where labour costs are substantially less than half the level in our country? And we should not be misled into thinking the only attraction is cheap labour. These developing countries have used a combination of imported technology and capital, their work ethic, and their adaptable, abundant manpower to out-perform many of the traditional industries of developed countries in Europe as well as North America, including Canada.

As a producing and consuming nation, we would do well to ask what our reaction will be to the growing challenge of the new competitors.

Protectionism is always politically attractive because Canadian jobs are at stake – at least in the short term. However, we should recognize that, at heart, protectionism is a defensive posture and represents the road to a weakened society. A "closed society" of this type unfortunately tends to sustain uncompetitive industries and often fails to explore ways of concentrating efforts in other areas where a competitive advantage can be secured. In short, protectionist practices tend to blunt the wealth-creation process.

A dynamic society, on the other hand, accepts the challenge of change and competition. Moves are made towards freer international trade. The creation of new jobs is encouraged, rather than the protection of those in declining industries. This is a difficult path to follow – for both businessmen and politicians, but it will ultimately lead to a stronger, more competitive Canada.

So much for the trends which we see developing. I'd like now to consider where they are likely to lead us. I think it is possible to conjure up two alternative scenarios – both realistic – yet having very different implications for the 1980s and 1990s.

The first scenario is what I have chosen to call "a world of internal preoccupation." It shows what could well happen if risk-aversion and protectionism were to become more dominant and more pronounced in the future.

Here we find conflict between the forces promoting and opposing growth. Although people continue to expect a rising standard of living, the market sector is not encouraged to grow. Governments increase their intervention in the economy and are preoccupied with the redistribution of wealth rather than its creation. Marginal industries are protected to serve limited domestic markets, and export opportunities are allowed to decline. This scenario reflects an environment of economic under-performance which eventually leads to a lower standard of living because there is not enough wealth left to redistribute. If you find this scenario disquieting, so do I.

The second, alternative, scenario I have labelled "the world of the productive society." This shows an environment of reduced government intervention, reflected by lower expenditures and lower budget deficits and increased emphasis on productivity and market forces. Strong links are made into the international trade system and there is increased understanding of the wealth-creation process, with adoption of government policies to foster it. The pendulum swings away from risk-avoidance to creation of new investment and increased employment. Altogether a more encouraging outlook. But this scenario does not imply "boom" conditions. Even here growth rates in the industrialized world remain relatively modest.

Two scenarios – a "world of internal preoccupation," and a "world of the productive society." Most of us would prefer the second. But which, in fact, is more likely to evolve?

Perhaps I'm over-optimistic, but I see some glimmers of hope that we are moving in the right direction. There are some positive signs: the taxpayers' revolt in California resulting in Proposition 13; and closer to home – the current studies by the Economic Council analysing the effectiveness of government regulation; British Columbia establishing a Ministry of Deregulation; and the intergovernmental studies on reducing duplication of services, agreed to at the 1978 First Ministers' Conference on the economy.

The progress of the current round of world trade and tariff negotiations offers further encouragement. Ambassador Jake Warren, the Canadian co-ordinator for the multilateral trade negotiations, has been cautiously optimistic regarding their outcome. He has said that one massive positive factor in the talks has been the desire to avoid a breakdown of international trade co-operation and the self-defeating chaos that would result from tariff wars and protectionism. Mr. Warren believes it was the fear of this potential chaos which motivated the leaders of the industrialized world to insist, at successive summit meetings, that protectionist forces must be resisted, and negotiations brought to a satisfactory conclusion. I hope his predictions are correct.

What is the message for Canada in all of this? Both government and business are apprehensive about sinking into a world of internal preoccupation. Our choice must be towards a more productive society, and I will therefore be devoting the rest of my remarks to the question of what we in Canada must do if we wish to move in this direction.

First, the wealth-creation process should be given further encouragement. Essential to this encouragement is a better understanding of the interaction between the market and non-market sectors of our economy. The quality of life in Canada rests on a foundation of economic performance, which in recent years has been well below potential. It is perhaps ironic that the expanded social programs of the 1970s were made possible by the economic affluence of the 1960s. But our economic engine is running today at part-throttle, and must be refuelled if we are to generate the wealth required to meet the social needs of the 1980s.

Second, we need continued progress towards restraint in fiscal and monetary policy. We need a stable dollar – and in the long run to achieve this, we must continue to move towards reduced government expenditures and towards elimination of deficits. Nothing can contribute more forcefully to a good business climate than sound fiscal and monetary policies, and nothing can undermine business more quickly than excesses in this area. No one today is looking for a steadily sinking Canadian dollar.

Third, we must do more to exploit our strengths in world trade if we are to remain a prosperous country.

One of our major strengths is our natural resources, which played such a large role in Canada's economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s. Forest products, agriculture, mining, oil and natural gas – all have contributed heavily to providing the necessary surpluses to support additional social benefits. They still account for a substantial portion of Canada's exports, and given the chance, they can make an even greater contribution.

Resource development in Canada needs to be expanded. This sector of the economy is sometimes downgraded because of its relatively low level of direct employment. There is a basic misunderstanding here. The facts are that the capital equipment and technology needed for resource development, and the opportunities it provides for upgrading, have a substantial multiplier effect on both employment and investment in other industries. Governments, in my view, should stop viewing this sector primarily as a source of tax and royalty revenue, and start viewing it more as a creator of employment and wealth.

Speaking as an oil man, you will perhaps allow me a brief comment on oil and natural gas.

Much interest has been aroused by the recent National Energy Board report on natural gas. I think their findings are encouraging.

First priority has been to provide for Canada's growing future needs, and it should be emphasized that the Board's estimates now include provision for potential new gas markets in Quebec and the Maritimes. In addition, over and above domestic needs, an exportable surplus has been determined of close to two trillion cubic feet, equivalent to about one and one third years of Canadian consumption. I believe this surplus estimate is conservative and will be revised upward as a result of continuing exploration and development activity by the industry.

The task ahead is now clear. First, the question of gas pipeline expansion to the east must be resolved. Extension to Quebec City requires some subsidy, but would open substantial new markets. In going beyond this point, however, I am concerned that much greater subsidization would be required. Alternative means of providing equivalent security of energy supply for the Maritimes should therefore be considered.

Second, the gas surplus determined by the National Energy Board must now be authorized for export. Priority should be given to those applications which provide the greatest benefit to Canada, and it is important that these decisions be made as quickly as possible in order to maximize improvements to Canada's balance of payments and to the economy generally.

On crude oil, the position is reversed. Canada is short of domestic crude, and relies on imports for roughly one-third of total needs. The Iranian situation has underscored yet again our supply vulnerability. It is true that Canada has massive untapped resources in both oil sands and heavy oil, and there are projects afoot to raise the vast sums needed to extract the oil. But my concern relates to timing. Conflicting federal and provincial fiscal terms in this area are not yet reconciled, and time to develop these resources is now critically short.

To sum up, in a fast-changing world, the challenge for Canada – and for Canadian business – will be to compete internationally. If we fail, we will see other nations pass us by, and the ability of both government and business to satisfy the expectations of our society will decline. And world competition is tougher today than ever before, and getting tougher.

To move towards a more productive society, a working partnership between governments and the private sector must become more effective in encouraging the wealth-creation process.

The role of government should be to evolve and spell out the societal and political parameters within which technical and economic solutions can be sought. The role of the market sector is to search for these solutions within this framework. And in a competitive environment, private enterprise is still best equipped to carry out this task.

Canada has the resources and skills to go the route of the productive society. Let's put away our differences and resolve to make it happen.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Mr. R.A. Robertson, a Director of The Empire Club of Canada.

MARCH 22, 1979

Does the Twentieth Century Belong to Canada?

AN ADDRESS BY L. D. Clarke,
CHAIRMAN,
SPAR AEROSPACE LIMITED

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: Nothing perhaps has captured the imagination so much as the tremendous strides and advances which have been made with regard to air and space travel and communications, much of it in our own lifetime.

In the year this club was formed, the first controlled, sustained flight in a powered aeroplane was made. If one dates the beginning of power-driven air flight by the Wright Brothers at Kitty Hawk, we have only been in the business for something like seventy-six years.

In that relatively short time, we have gone from the fabric and wire of those pioneer air machines to sophisticated space craft, exploring the universe almost beyond the limits of our imagination. Similar technological developments have given us communication satellites which put us in touch, live and instantaneously, with every quarter of the globe.

Canadian expertise and leadership has given us a respected position in the aerospace industry, and we are delighted to have as our speaker today one of the leaders in this field, Mr. Larry Denman Clarke, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Spar Aerospace Limited.

Following service in the Royal Canadian Navy in World War II, Mr. Clarke graduated in Law and was called to the bar in the Province of Ontario. He served for two years as a special adviser to the Department of Defence Production during the Korean War and in 1953 joined de Havilland as contracts administrator.

From 1960 to 1965, Mr. Clarke was president of DCF Systems, a joint venture of de Havilland, Ferranti Canada, and Canadian Aviation Electronics. In 1967, our speaker founded Spar Aerospace Products Limited, serving as President and Chief Executive Officer until 1974 when he became Chairman and maintained the role of Chief Executive Officer.

Those who follow the fortunes of business will no doubt have read the recent press report that Mr. Clarke's company has won a seventeen million dollar contract to build a satellite communications antenna in the West African country of Ghana. It is said that this project will provide three hundred man-years of employment for the company and the ten Canadian subsuppliers involved.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Empire Club, it is my pleasant duty at this time to introduce to you the Chairman of Spar Aerospace Limited, Mr. Larry Clarke, who will address us on the subject "Does the Twentieth Century Belong to Canada?"

MR. CLARKE:

When I was approached last fall to speak to you I accepted with trepidation. I have never before been asked to address a business luncheon meeting.

Research into the art of public speaking now became my first priority. I learned that you must first gain the interest of your listeners by telling a light, topical and, if possible, witty short story.

I know I am no good at telling witty stories, so I am left with telling a topical one. I have, as a matter of fact, long wished for an opportunity to tell this particular topical story. Its title, "Does the Twentieth Century Belong to Canada?" poses a question; its subtitle, "The Need for a National Industrial

L. D. Clarke,
Chairman,
Spar Aerospace Limited

Strategy," could provide the answer. The telling of it will, I'm afraid, take up the whole of my allotted time.

Although Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the turn of the century had more than once proclaimed his belief that the twentieth century was to be Canada's, an economic study released shortly after World War II disclosed that Canada was the least industrialized of the modern industrial nations. A recent revision of this study shows that in the intervening thirty years a number of countries have overtaken us in industrial capacity and that today Canada could be rated amongst the most highly industrialized of the *less* developed countries. These statistics provide a damning indictment of Canadian industrial strategy or, rather, the lack of it since 1945.

To describe Canada's industrial situation in less abstract terms and through foreign eyes, a 1976 report looking at Canada as an industrial nation from a Japanese viewpoint had these comments to make: Canada is seen as a country sliding backwards – not unlike Australia or New Zealand. We are seen as having entered a phase in which the majority of really important economic decisions are dictated by external forces (multinational corporations and international unions) rather than by our own government. The Japanese study notes that the existence of eleven regional governments largely preoccupied with defending and enhancing their parochial influence has contributed greatly to the emasculation of the central government.

The country has no *visible* national goals, no apparent national strategy, and no known industrial or trade strategy. Public policies are confusing, poorly co-ordinated, often contradictory. The so-called "establishment" thinks more in nineteenth century terms than in those of the impending twenty-first.

The economy is ailing. The weak manufacturing sector appears to be largely unaware of the existence of microelectronics; and so has almost completely missed what promises to become the second industrial revolution.

The labour scene is chaotic. Management – at best – is second class. Productivity is poor.

Inflation is rampant and once again will reach double digit figures.

Such, then, is an assessment of our economy by observers from a more successful economy, to wit: Japan. Although some of these comments are arguable, the fact of our relative economic decline over the past thirty years certainly is not. Obviously we have been doing many things wrong. Therefore, we must think afresh and give serious consideration, for one, to the formulation of an industrial strategy.

The argument that Canada does not need a vibrant manufacturing industry is, I believe, false. It argues that all we need are resources and service industries. Canada, it says, has passed into the so-called post-industrial era.

Even the most ardent supporters of this philosophy must surely appreciate that there is a limit to the extent to which we can take in one another's washing. For a country to provide the ever improving standard of living desired by its citizens, there must be continuing growth in real wealth which can only come from growth in both the resource-based and the manufacturing sectors. The service field, except with respect to its activities in support of industry, does not create real wealth.

Events over the past quarter century have demonstrated that resource-based countries (other than OPEC) are becoming poorer while industrialized nations are becoming wealthier. At the beginning of this century, Canada had a resource-based economy deriving its wealth from agriculture, fishing and from the products of its forests and mines. Such manufacturing industry as there was existed behind high tariff barriers and made little, if any, effort to export its products. While the output of our resource industries has increased greatly in *value* in the intervening years, the percentage of the labour force employed in the resource-based industries has decreased substantially.

Over the past twenty-five years, it has been the *service* sector which has been absorbing most of the increase in the labour force. Although there has been a small increase in the manufacturing sector labour force, the proportion of the total labour force within this sector has actually decreased by more than twenty per cent since 1966. We are now experiencing a reduction in the rate of growth in the service sector and even the modest rate of increase of employment within the manufacturing sector is constantly threatened by foreign competition employing lower paid labour.

These trends clearly indicate why Canada is now placed within the group of less developed countries.

We must face the challenge of finding gainful employment for our growing, well-educated labour force. With little prospect for significant increases in demand from the resource sector, we must look to the manufacturing sector and its related service activities to absorb these people. This is a task of monumental proportions – how do we reverse the direction of our economic thrust in the face of ever more severe international competition?

It is unrealistic to meet such a challenge *without* an industrial strategy.

However, before discussing such a strategy I would like to touch briefly on the subject of inflation. If we cannot conquer inflation, we cannot possibly implement an industrial strategy of any kind.

We have been obsessed with inflation, and rightly so, because it robs people of the will to work. Inflation destroys the confidence of those who have to invest in the future. Little new or modernized plant is being purchased: fewer jobs are created.

It seems to me that the approach we should take with our legislators on the subject of inflation should be that of the preacher who, because many of his parishioners had little, if any, formal education, was asked how he put across his messages.

"Well, sir," he said, "I adopt a very simple approach. First of all I tells 'em what I am going to tell 'em, and then I tells 'em, and then I tells 'em what I told 'em."

With your indulgence, I will now join that ever expanding chorus of unofficial economic advisers.

I believe that first of all government at all levels must establish a far more realistic relationship between current accounts and capital accounts. It is only through capital expenditures that we can increase our real wealth.

Secondly, the federal government should stop printing money faster than is warranted by the real growth of the economy. Unless confidence in the value of our currency is regained, investment decisions will continue to be based on the assumption that tomorrow's dollar will be worth less than today's. This assumption will ensure the continued deterioration of our capital plant.

Canadians shy away from autocratic strategies, whether economic, industrial, or whatever. Historically, we have been much influenced by economic doctrines popular in the United States where central planning is anathema. We also are sceptical about the efficacy of central planning because we have seen a number of failures in other countries. However, the success of the Japanese and German economies should modify our scepticism.

In Canada we have taken the view that, if there is to be industrial planning, it can be applied only to individual industries or markets because industry-wide planning is thought to be so general as to be impracticable.

I do not believe that this bias against broadly-based industrial planning makes sense.

Some fifty years ago there was a group in the United States who called themselves "America Firsters." I believe that we must become dedicated Canada Firsters, and choose Canadian solutions to Canadian problems. We must have the courage and the imagination to design a Canadian industrial strategy that answers *our* national needs.

What should be the form of this strategy?

It must be broadly based. It must be based on the realities of both the Canadian environment and the world marketplace. It must draw on past domestic practices and on the experience of other countries *only* where such experience is clearly relevant.

This strategy must be adopted by all levels of government, by industry and by labour. It must be followed consistently over a period of time sufficient to produce the desired results. In so doing, governments, industry and labour must be prepared to adopt and maintain a mature, disciplined – yet sympathetic – approach to the regional and individual economic hardships that will arise. The ultimate benefits will justify short-term adjustments.

The first step leading to the establishment of an industrial strategy is to take stock of our industrial assets and liabilities, and draw up a balance sheet. A beginning has already been made: twenty-two industrial task forces were set up last year to advise federal and provincial ministers of industry on the status of the country's principal industrial sectors. This process should continue, its results distilled and refined, until there is a consensus among government, industry and labour as to the optimum strategy. There is no doubt in my mind that the chosen strategy must be based on the achievement of productivity levels that are competitive within the international marketplace.

When this point is reached, it will be necessary to step back, take a hard look, and establish priorities. This will require a great deal of give and take, much soul searching, and some very difficult decisions for all concerned. Then, with the industrial priorities established, it will be necessary to allocate resources. It is at this point that we shall face a political "crunch."

Inevitably, a higher percentage of discretionary funds – that is to say our taxes – will have to be invested in the capital account supporting industry. This will, at least for a period, significantly reduce the rate of growth in the funds available for socially oriented programs. I foresee a tough political struggle but, unless we have the courage to change the pattern of national investment, then, as surely as night follows day, Canada will follow the United Kingdom down the road to economic disarray.

Before closing, may I put forward a bare outline of the policies which, I believe, Canada's proposed industrial strategy should follow.

First, we should decide to build on the strengths inherent in our resource-based industries by taking processing into our own hands as far as possible.

Second, we should encourage the growth of manufacturing activities in such advanced technology areas as transportation and communications. These are industries which have substantial domestic *and* export markets.

Third, we should organize training programs within our educational institutions, industrial and labour organizations, to produce a work force that is able to respond competitively to the demands of today's global industrial marketplace.

Fourth, government procurement at all levels, including crown corporations and regulated industries, should adopt a "Buy Canadian" policy – but only where and when such a policy makes sense in respect of the conflicting yet interrelated interests of both consumers and suppliers.

The recent reduction in the value of our dollar has given our manufacturing sector a temporary advantage. We must use the respite from this period of advantage to put in place our new industrial strategy. If we lose this opportunity, the tide of competition sweeping throughout the world will engulf us. Then, in truth, Canadians could regress to the modern equivalent of the proverbial hewers of wood and drawers of water.

One hundred and twelve years ago, the Fathers of Confederation, as the British North America Act shows, had a clear perception of Canada's economic needs. I believe that the economic realities of today demand that we reassess, restate and, once again, reach a consensus on what our industrial priorities should be.

If our vision today is as clear, and our dedication as steadfast, as was that of the founding fathers in 1867, then and only then can we look forward to the twenty-first century, if not "belonging to Canada," then at least being a century of prosperity.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Mr. John D. Herrick, a Director of The Empire Club of Canada.

MARCH 29, 1979

The Day I Spoke for Mr. Lincoln

AN ADDRESS BY W.O. Mitchell,
CANADIAN AUTHOR

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: We have been bombarded recently with press reports having to do with the "Canadianization," if you will, of national television broadcasting. On the face of it this would appear to suggest that we should be trying to compete with the popular entertainment vehicles at which the Americans are so expert, which is precisely the reason why we watch that kind of programming.

I am on the side of those who are of the opinion that we cannot hope to compete at the "sit-com, shoot-'em-up" level with the Americans, but that we should expend our effort at doing what we do best and that is presenting ourselves to ourselves in the tradition and to the standard that has already been established by the National Film Board and the CBC.

Our speaker today is a part of that tradition. There can be few in our audience who are not familiar with the long-running classic CBC radio serial, *Jake and the Kid*, and its author, Mr. W.O. Mitchell.

Speaking for myself: I am in awe of authors. To think that somebody can write a whole book, and then get it published, really impresses me.

A kindred spirit is the Dean who was thrilled that his wife's book had just been published. It certainly ranked second, in his estimation, that his wife had also just presented him with a son.

A friend came up and shook his hand to congratulate him on his son and heir, saying, "Congratulations, Mr. Dean."

The pleased Dean reacted. "Yes, it is rather splendid of my wife, especially as she had no help from me and just a little from a minor canon."

Mr. Mitchell is a westerner, born in Weyburn, Saskatchewan and a graduate of the University of Alberta. He has been a salesman, a schoolteacher and he even moved east to become *Maclean's* fiction editor from 1948 to 1951. Moving back west, this time to High River, Alberta, he worked as a freelance writer and wrote the *Jake and the Kid* series for radio. He has been writer-in-residence at the University of Calgary, at his alma mater the University of Alberta, at the University of Toronto and at Atkinson College of York University.

Along the way he has written six novels, one of which became the successful motion picture, *Who Has Seen the Wind?* He collected a Stephen Leacock medal for humour for *Jake and the Kid* in 1962. Notwithstanding their western settings, each novel holds up a mirror in which the Canadian character is reflected, or as one critic puts it: "He portrays his characters with an affectionately comic note in a style that is appropriately unpretentious." Another, writing of his *The Vanishing Point* has this to say: "Mitchell is a lover of life for whom the 'irresponsible' is often irresistible – he is a humanist who anchors his narrative in a milieu he knows well."

Perhaps I should stop now before I get into a milieu that I do not know well, but of which we may all be the wiser after listening to our guest.

Ladies and gentlemen, I know you all share my delight that our speaker has found time in his busy schedule to be with us today, and I am honoured at this time to present to you novelist, humorist, raconteur, an Officer of the Order of Canada and a great Canadian – W.O. Mitchell.

MR. MITCHELL:

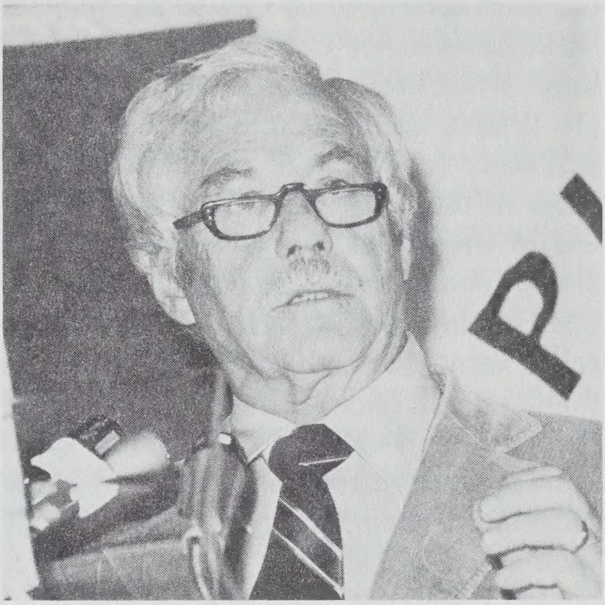
Ladies and gentlemen: "A foreigner can photograph the exteriors of a nation, but I think that's as far as he can get. No foreigner can report its interior, its soul, its life, its speech, its thought. A knowledge of these things is acquirable in only one way, not two or four or six. It is through absorption – years and years of intercourse with the life concerned, living it, indeed sharing personally in its shames and prides, its joys and griefs, its loves and hates, its prosperity and reverses, its shows and shabbiness. Of what real value is observation? One learns people through the heart, not the eyes or the intellect."

I must explain. These are not my words. I've been plagiarizing again. They belong to Sam Clemens, who is, of course, long dead, and so is unable to be with us at the Empire Club today.

He continues: "There is only one expert who is qualified to examine the soul and the life of a people and to make a valuable report: the native novelist. This expert is so rare that the most populous country can never have fifteen conspicuously, confessedly competent ones in stock at one time. This native specialist is not qualified to begin work until he has been absorbing during twenty-five years. How much of his competency is derived from conscious observation? The amount is so slight that it counts for next to nothing in the equipment. Almost the whole capital of the novelist is the slow accumulation of unconscious observation – absorption."

I agree with Mark Twain. And I'd like to add that the first third of the twenty-five years of absorption that he mentions are the important staining years. We could call them the litmus years. They stain us with our own part of the earth's skin through our allotted years of life indelibly. These early years of unconscious absorption position us each with his own peculiar perspective, determine the fragile contract each has with his own identity. During these years we may or may not achieve a delicate balance between what's inner and what's outer. Old-world cultural baggage carried to the new world may seem paramount to abstracting sociologists and other intelligently generalizing tourists. But in the competency of the artist they are not paramount.

By an artist, I mean someone who does a great deal for its own sake. I wish that all human beings were such people, but it's lucky they aren't, because the nation would go to ruin if it



W. O. Mitchell,
Canadian author

were populated entirely by artists who do things for their own sake only. In our western, contemporary, materialist culture not nearly so many people do things for their own sake as did, perhaps, renaissance man.

I don't mean simply declared artists, because I think there are two kinds of art: there is life art and there is "art art," life artists and "art artists." If I had to be only one of these, I guess I'd choose to be the first – a life artist rather than a practising artist, because when it comes to a choice between life and the illusion of life, which is art, I cannot too strongly recommend life.

I have called this talk "The Day I Spoke for Mr. Lincoln," because at the time when I was filling in those litmus years, a subconscious notebook out of which I could draw bits of people, themes, insights and stories, I also became a Canadian. This is when that sort of thing happens. It happened to me in my first twelve years as a prairie gopher in southern Saskatchewan.

The year I was twelve, I developed a tuberculous wrist and was taken out of school for almost a year. It was almost as though, every day for that year, some great blackboard eraser wiped all the children off the streets between nine and four, but it missed me. In our town, Weyburn, or the province of Saskatchewan, or Canada, or the world, I was the only kid left alive. What life remained on the streets was completely adult: Mr. Erhard holding the lines of the town horses, great rumped and hairy footed, with red ribbon woven through the braided plugs of their tails and little silk Union Jacks flapping from the top of the hames. They pulled the honey wagon. But they did it with ponderous dignity and style.

Every day, a dray piled with the frozen solid geometry of ice cakes went down Sixth Street where I was, alone, alive. And the man with leather chaps patched darkly with water shadows split it to ice-chest size, the chill splinters flying. He didn't mind if you took some chips. You brushed off the sawdust and sucked on them. There was cool drool, because the chunks were too big for your mouth. It was numbing cold and you couldn't stand it very long so you spit it out into a catching hand. Then when you sucked in the air, it burned.

I used to go next door to an empty lot, where little girls picked rose petals and took them home and crushed them with their mother's potato masher to make rose water. Next day the little girls would bring old aspirin bottles to school. "Do you want to smell my rose water?"

It should have been delightfully perfumed . . . but it wasn't. It had a thick and disappointing odour, smelling ever so faintly like old arm pits.

What I'm doing now is illustrating what Mark Twain meant by "unconscious absorption." It doesn't seem to have anything to do with anything. However, it does if you become a writer. Because this is where you find your sensuous fragments – your smells, your touches, your sounds, out of which you build your illusions and your bits of people.

It's also where you become a Canadian.

I used to walk out to the end of Sixth Street to the swimming hole, to the luke and muddy little Souris. I've stored through unconscious absorption and forgotten and found again the earth taste of that water. In the Okanagan, where we have our summer home, the lake water that we drink comes pure out of Mabel Lake through a plastic pipe. And you know, that water tastes funny. It lacks a sort of escargot flavour. And also when I walk out of it, there are no bloodsuckers fattening on my thigh or my belly – or worse – to be pulled and pulled, while they stretch elastically, until they come loose with a pop!

So that's the unconscious absorption that I speak of, when I filled a subconscious notebook, when I wandered lonely over the prairie, the prairie wind dirging through the great harp of telephone wires. They hummed and they twanged and they seemed to adjust themselves endlessly against the abiding prairie stillness.

I can remember standing with the whole thrust of the prairie sun on my own vulnerable head, looking down at the dry husk of a dead gopher crawling with ants and flies and undertaker beetles. I can remember the black and white magpies and the quick and skipping lift of a western meadowlark that surprised me again and again, and marked me for all of my life.

I told you that I developed a tuberculous wrist and because of this my mother had to take me to a warmer clime. We ended up on the Gulf of Mexico, where I lived from the age of twelve to seventeen. The first year we went down to Florida was the year I studied to become an elocutionist.

It wasn't my idea. It was my mother's. Every Saturday I had to go to Madame Brocklebank's School of Dance, Drama, Music and Elocution. The reason was that my mother, without benefit of Mendelian Law, had decided that music and recitative talents were sex-linked characteristics. My grandpa had come over from Belfast at the time of the potato famine. When he died in East Flamborough County, the Presbyterian minister at his funeral said that some of the selections from the poets took on new meaning under his recitation. You add to this that my father was an elocutionist who put himself through Victoria College during the latter part of the last century by reciting.

When my mother died, I received his notice book. "Lawn Social at the Manse: A Peach Festival under the Auspices of the Ladies Aid of Balmoral Church," "Concert of the Young Men's Literary Society of Dundas Street," "The Gore Street Methodist Church Social and Concert." *The Dundas Banner* said my father's humour was "clean, wholesome and refreshing." I don't see how it could have been anything else under such auspices!

My mother sang alto in the Knox Presbyterian choir back in Weyburn, Saskatchewan. She knew I was tone deaf. My grandfather was tone deaf, my father was tone deaf and bad things come in threes. But good things come in threes, too. If grandpa could recite the poets, and also my father, she would enrol me in Madame Brocklebank's School of Dance, Drama, Music and Elocution, to which I roller-skated every week. Ten blocks away, I could hear Noreen Symington's cornet; two blocks away, some protesting piano student playing "The Robin's Return," a beautiful piano selection. The robin just makes it up the hill and down the other side. In front of the school itself, I could hear "Tiptoe Through the Tulips," and "East Side, West Side." They were the only pieces to which the school's tap dancers could dance.

I think Madame Brocklebank left her doors and windows open for advertising purposes.

Each Saturday, my assignation was with a woman called Miss Dora Finch. She waited for me in a doll's house under a pecan tree at the back of Madame Brocklebank's School of Dance, Drama, Music and Elocution. Miss Finch came from Birmingham. She anticipated Tennessee Williams by about twenty-two years. She wore a gauzy long gown that dripped, and she moved as though she were wading through a lagoon. She didn't get up from a chair, she *bloomed* from the chair. And when she sat down, it was with all the drifting grace of dandelion down. She was a very spiritual woman: about ninety-nine per cent spirit and one per cent flesh, as compared to Madame Brocklebank. She was a generously built woman with a monocotyledonous bosom, who was about ninety-nine per cent flesh and one per cent spirit.

I spent one hour under Miss Finch each Saturday morning, during which she gave me gestures, facial expressions, postures, to go with such pieces as "The Fool." So you don't believe me? I'm not making this up. Here's Billy Mitchell doing "The Fool."

"*The Fool.* Look from the window. All you see was to be his one day, forest and lawn and lea. And he goes and casts them aside, casts them aside to die in the dark, part of him mud, part of him blood, the rest of him (close the eyes in the pain-too-great-to-be-borne expression, lower the voice but don't forget the chest chambers) *not at all*!"

I wish Claire Drainey had been here today. She's never seen me do that number.

After eight weeks of roller-skating to Madame Brocklebank's, I qualified to take part in the twice-monthly concert that Madame Brocklebank put on. She herself was the star performer. She got up and lowered a kind of gang-plank for every one of the students, before they did whatever they were going to do. Which brings us to Noreen Symington.

I disliked and distrusted this well built girl, who was about two inches higher than I was and who could probably have put me down, and who played the cornet. And every time there was one of these concerts, Noreen Symington played the same cornet solo, called "The Eagle and the Rabbit."

Madame Brocklebank would come forward and say, "The selection you are about to hear, played by little Noreen Symington, is entitled 'The Eagle and the Rabbit.' It depicts an eagle, high, effortlessly soaring in the blue. Far, far below him he spies a little rabbit going buckety-buckety. Down he plummets, clutches the little furry creature in his talons and bears him, grunting, kicking and squealing, aloft."

Over the years I have worked with a number of composers. Morris Surdon did the *Jake and the Kid* stuff; there was Harry Somers and Lou Applebaum. I'm tone deaf, and they all know I'm that way. But they're all illiterate, so that's all right. And I would say, "By the way, speaking of cornets, are you familiar with that lovely cornet solo, 'The Eagle and the Rabbit'?" They weren't. Morris said, "You made it up, Mitchell." But I didn't. It really was what Noreen Symington blew on her cornet every time we had a concert.

My mother wasn't too impressed with these concerts. They were sort of incestuous affairs attended only by blood relatives. She felt she had spent a lot of money to train me and she wanted to unload me in public.

About this time, Miss Finch told me that Noreen and I had been selected to take part in the Decoration Day program at Williams Park. I was to deliver Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. I had only a month to work on it.

Now, because of that unconscious absorption I told you about, I was already a committed Canadian. At first I wasn't thinking too clearly, but it didn't take me too long to realize that this might be treason. I owed allegiance to the King, and the beaver, and the maple leaf. I don't know how I had overlooked it. Every time I turned around, I knew I stood amid alien corn. These people said "zee," and they accused Canadians of saying "hoose, moose and loose," when they really meant "howse, mowse and lowse." And they said they had won the War of 1812. They celebrated Thanksgiving on the wrong day. They also got the wrong month while they were at it.

I didn't know what I was going to do. I put off memorizing it. Then during a class in solid geometry, I hit on a solution to satisfy all allegiances. I spent the whole evening memorizing Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. It's a cinch. Any idiot can memorize it, and I did, but with thirty-nine very, very slight changes. Wherever Mr. Lincoln said "we," or "us," or "our," I changed it to "you," or "your." So my improved version started out, "Four score and seven years ago, *your* forefathers brought forth on this continent a new nation." My adapted ending became, "with charity for all, it is for *you* to resolve that this nation under God . . ."

I didn't try it on my mother, let alone Miss Finch. By the next morning I knew it wouldn't do.

On Decoration Day afternoon, the Williams Park bandshell was frighteningly crowded: one Tallahassee senator as master of ceremonies, forty-nine Daughters of the American Revolution (which is the same sort of thing as the I.O.D.E.), and John Philip Sousa and his band (they played down there in the winter time), Madame Schumann-Heink, who was combining a visit to St. Petersburg with her last concert appearance that night at the Congregational Church. She was seventy-two and my mother said she had delayed her retirement by about ten years. Then there was Noreen Symington who would blow guess what on her cornet, and Babe Ruth, who did nothing except to be Babe Ruth, and that was the finest thing done on any Decoration Day program that year.

I left out one celebrity. He sat between me and Noreen Symington, an old Confederate Civil War veteran. There were about nine of them still left alive. His grey forage cap was tipped forward on his head and he smelled of moth balls. There was also a sort of ripe-fig smell about him, and I figured that one out when I saw the morning-glory mouth of a brass spittoon by his left foot and my right foot.

At this time, I used to recite in my elocution suit. It was a double-breasted reefer blue coat with a blue velvet collar (from our dining-room curtains) and beautiful ice-cream white flannel trousers.

The old man next to me needed the spittoon, but it wasn't doing him much good. He was chewing tobacco, you see, and he had palsy, which jigged his feet, jumped his knees and trembled his hands and rippled through his shoulders and jerked his head with such crack-the-whip violence that it completely ruined his aim. And you know what I'm wearing. My elocution white flannel trousers.

I can remember Madame Schumann-Heink and Mr. Sousa doing "The Star-Spangled Banner" rather well, but then I don't recall much else, except Noreen Symington and her cornet. I know that there really is a piece called "The Eagle and the Rabbit." I know bloody well how that rabbit felt when it was in the eagle's talons. Noreen finished. She bowed. She knocked the spit from her mouthpiece and put it on her hip. She turned about, came back and sat down. Then I saw the senator looking over at me.

I pulled myself together, tightening my chest and shoulder muscles to still the tremors. I reminded myself of Noreen's nerveless approach to public performance, I rose smartly and stepped firmly – right into the Confederate War veteran's spittoon.

Now look. To get your foot out of a spittoon, you can't tip your toe forward like a ballet dancer, because it brings your heel out where the spittoon goes around that way. And you can't pull it out this way. This was established in a whispered conference with the senator, who asked me then if I wished to forgo my part in the program. I was tempted, but I said, "No!" I would just wear the spittoon and do Lincoln's Gettysburg Address the way my mother and Miss Finch and Madame Brocklebank had said I would do it.

To this end, I anvil-chorused my way to the front of the bandshell.

The green benches were empty all over St. Petersburg that day. Everybody was in Williams Park, and everybody had been issued a fan when he came in. And so it was that not only did I catch palsy from the old veteran, but the whole park caught palsy. The fans got the Spanish moss and the banyan leaves going and everything had palsy.

Not only that. I discovered, just as my mother and Miss Finch and Madame Brocklebank had predicted, that I had forgotten Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. I got the opening paragraph. But from there on, I left Mr. Lincoln – or he left me. But I did a very clever thing. I ad libbed in a Lincolnesque fashion and caught up with him in the last paragraph. ". . . shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The fans stopped. The leaves and the Spanish moss were still. And then I got my first ovation.

Oh – the way you get your foot out of a spittoon is just to unlace your shoe and take your foot out of it. Then you take the shoe out of the spittoon, and . . . wipe it off.

My mother helped me do this. She said she was very proud of me, and that my father, if he had been alive, would have been proud too. Then I realized that she thought that I had delivered Lincoln's Gettysburg Address! Not just my mother. Everybody in that park. I discovered something. Everybody has heard about Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Nobody *knows* Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

I said that I didn't think it was the right thing for a Canadian to do, but she said that she guessed it was, because Mr. Lincoln belonged to the whole world.

We are, of course, a hundred or a hundred and fifty years behind our neighbours to the south in almost everything, including secession. I hope we find a Mr. Lincoln.

I'd like to return now to Mark Twain, who says: "Does the native novelist try to generalize the nation? No. He lays plainly before you the ways and speech and life of a few people grouped in a certain place, his own place. In time, he and his brethren will report to you the life and the people of the whole nation: the life of a group in a New England village, in a New York village, in a Texan village, in an Oregon village, in villages in fifty states and territories. And then the farm life in fifty states and territories. A hundred patches of life and groups of people in a dozen widely-separated cities. The Indians will be attended to, and the cowboys, and the gold and silver miners, the negroes, the idiots and congressmen, and the Irish, the Germans, the Italians, the Swedes, the French, the Chinamen, the Greecers; and the Catholics, the Methodists, the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Baptists, the Spiritualists, the Mormons, the Shakers, the Quakers, the Jews, the Campbellites, the infidels, the Christian Scientists, the mind curists, the faith curists; the train robbers, the white caps, the moonshiners. And when a thousand able novels have been written, there you have the soul of the people, the life of the people, the speech of the people and not anywhere else can these be had; and the shadings of character, manners, feelings, ambition will be infinite."

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Catherine Charlton, a Director of The Empire Club of Canada.

APRIL 5, 1979

Ontario's Role in Confederation

AN ADDRESS BY The Honourable William G. Davis, Q.C., LL.D.,
PREMIER OF ONTARIO

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Mr. Premier, Mr. Minister, members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: Mr. Premier, since old friends need no introduction, perhaps you and your friends of the Empire Club might enjoy reminiscing over the introductions that have been accorded you in your five previous appearances as our guest speaker – a sort of "This is your Empire Club life, Bill Davis."

Do you remember on March 3, 1966, speaking on a double-bill with Paul Gérin-Lajoie, Quebec's first minister of education? The then president, the late Colonel Royce, who was obviously impressed by your youth, spoke these words: "We are about to hear from one of the *youngest* ministers of education in the history of Ontario. He was the *youngest* member of the provincial parliament when first elected to the Legislature and he is the *youngest* member of the Ontario Cabinet." Colonel Royce even went on to detail your date of birth, and then had the temerity to comment on your youthfulness from another point of view. He was much taken by the fact that while Mr. Gérin-Lajoie had four children, you had five – and that comment is followed in the annual year book by a bold exclamation mark.

In 1971, the president of the day, Mr. Jackman, who graces our head table today, took us back into history with the declamation that "every Premier of Ontario has spoken to this club, usually many times during his term of office . . . that every Premier of Ontario in the past seventy years had also been a member of the Empire Club" and attested to the fact that three of these had indeed served as presidents of this club. He then assured us "that while there is a very good chance that every Premier of Ontario will be asked to join, if not to become president of the club, that it is very unlikely that every president will ever receive a reciprocal invitation." The year book records no exclamation marks this time, not even wistfulness.

On April 25, 1974, it being the annual meeting, President Armstrong gave you probably the shortest introduction in the records of the Empire Club – a mere forty-eight words, and that included the somewhat lengthy title of your address on that occasion, "The Ontario Budget – A Deterrent to Gross Inflation." Well, I don't know if in fact it was a deterrent to gross inflation, but it was certainly a deterrent to a long-winded introduction, contrary to today!

In 1975, President Leal, in his introduction, started in his usual eloquent style, but then launched into a personal reminiscence: "I played much of my hockey in the old Trent Valley League and at times the decorum left something to be desired. I hasten to add, however, that there was nothing wrong with the play on the ice, but we did live in mortal fear of the old ladies with the handbags and umbrellas along the boards, particularly in Madoc, who were disposed and able to pummel the visiting players to death." Can you imagine a future historian pondering over this passage and its connection with the Premier of Ontario who had been invited to speak on the subject of "The Coming Year: 1976."

On your last visit here in 1977, President Karn admired your élan in these words: "It is not every speaker who would plan such activities as the release of his annual budget, and delay a possible announcement of an election, just to build an audience for our club when we were holding the Canadian Room in reserve."

There are two consistent themes in these introductions: one is humour – that special humour that is reserved for friends and those one trusts; the other constant is that whether the Premier was being recalled as the twenty-nine-year-old member for Peel, or the thirty-three-year-old minister of education, or the young Premier of this great province, the constant was the dedication and leadership that Premier Davis has brought to those offices he has held and to the one he now holds.

These qualities, together with his understanding of the needs of people and his businesslike approach to government, permit him to see beyond Ontario borders and to view Ontario and Ontarians in the wider context of a strong Canadian nation.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is my great pleasure today to present to you the Honourable William Grenville Davis, Premier of the Province of Ontario.

MR. DAVIS:

It is a genuine pleasure for me to have this opportunity once again to address the Empire Club.

I had thought that this would be a most opportune date for me to be here. In politics, as in most things, this is a relatively warm and promising time. However, since Prime Minister Trudeau's "surprise" announcement last Monday, everything seems to be getting out of hand.

As the television pundits in Ottawa are fond of saying with gravity and deliberation: this is once again the season of "sound and fury." Thus, my original mission to stir things up today seems a bit redundant. Nevertheless, as a politician, whose job is always on the line, I do not feel I have to leave the game for the next six weeks.

I recognize that any Premier who tries to be heard these days runs certain risks. If I keep my head down, I may only excite the Prime Minister's dark suspicion that provincial leaders are parochial nonentities. Yet, if I succeed in saying anything clearly on the wider issues of the moment, I may instantly be transformed into a "menace-to-the-integrity-of-a-strong-central-government."

Well, as a Canadian in the company of fellow Canadians, I am not inclined to trim my sails. Furthermore, as Premier of

Premier William Davis with the President

Ontario, I have no conflict of interest to declare when speaking out on the future of my country.

May I say, personally, that I do not like having my motives questioned. I may not be as flamboyant as Mr. Trudeau, but I take my citizenship every bit as seriously. To question my judgement is his right; to question my commitment to effective central government is unacceptable.

That being said, however, I cannot help but be amused by several of his recent rhetorical adventures.

Apparently, to his way of thinking, half a dozen elected Progressive Conservatives getting together in one room is now a "gang up." I thought he knew more about my party.

We may not hear it again, but his description of provincial governments as "principalities" strikes me as a bit medieval. We are told there is a siege mentality in Ottawa these days, but I hope he will remember that Canada is a *federal* and not a feudal state.

In one respect, being a Premier has its advantages. According to the Prime Minister, when a Member of Parliament walks fifty yards beyond the Peace Tower, he becomes a nobody. Apparently, in my case, if I walk fifty yards away from a First Ministers' Conference I become a bodyguard for Joe Clark . . . and he *is* a somebody.

I hope these observations are taken in good spirit. My intention is not excessively partisan. And, to those good Liberals in the audience, I hope I touched your sense of humour, rather than further aggravated your sense of isolation.

Nevertheless, I earnestly hope that his underlying theme of confrontation between our provinces and "his" central government is not taken seriously in the weeks ahead. We have enough problems and challenges in Canada without creating phony issues and unnecessary suspicions.

To be sure, an unavoidable confrontation between federalists across Canada and separatists in the Province of Quebec is taking place. And I want to discuss this common danger in a few moments. Furthermore, as a citizen and as a partisan, I am supporting Joe Clark in this election.

Nevertheless, as Premier of Ontario, I say the record of federal-provincial relations indicates clearly that we have consistently held out the hand of co-operation and that there has not been and is not now a common conspiracy, let alone a shared desire, to emasculate or frustrate the essential activities of *our* federal government.

There are differences of opinion between our various governments and many give me concern. However, our diversity *is* manageable. And the answer to his question, "Who stands for Canada?" is simply this: millions of our fellow Canadians do, and loyal men and women in public life, at all levels, and in all parties, are striving to make this fine and sturdy country work.

It is the electorate that is asking the real and demanding question: Can they not have public leadership that will make *their governments* work?

The problem is not the absence of pride in country, but the excesses of pridefulness in power.

Our government often disagrees in strenuous terms about *how* this federal government practises federalism and *uses* its leverage. From that perspective, for instance, we objected to several aspects of the recent emergency energy allocation legislation, which we still consider are extreme. But it is not our ambition to devolve from the centre those resources and responsibilities necessary to protect and advance our nationwide economy. Indeed, since the election in November 1976 of a secessionist government in Quebec, we have been the most actively supportive of strong national leadership.

In our Throne Speech of two years ago, we acknowledged that all federalists must work to place our economy on a path of honest and secure growth. As we stated, economic arguments may not dissuade the hard-core romantics of separatism, but economic results are vital to the survival of this country. Most importantly, we recognized that we will not succeed if our eleven senior governments go off in as many different directions.

Not only did we call for a co-operative effort to restore confidence and direction, we invited the federal government to test our commitment, and at the two recent First Ministers' Conferences on the Economy, Ontario delivered.

I believe, without equivocation, that our central government must be able to act as a guardian of the national interest. Nevertheless, those meetings demonstrated that Ottawa is not always the only author of responsible national policy. Frankly, it is a matter of record that the ideas we presented in our paper, "An Economic Development Policy for Canada," provided all the key elements of the development framework, with which all our senior governments agreed.

While we take no responsibility for the Prime Minister's fancy slogan "A Decade of Development," I am proud that we were able to propose measures that were national in scope, and that were accepted by others as such.

Our concern for Canada, as a whole, is not at issue and my hand of co-operation remains extended, whatever anyone says in the weeks and months ahead. The choice before us now is clear and simple; after exhausting all the options, Canada needs and deserves national leadership that produces results and not simply stakes out positions; a leadership that sees co-operation, not as a humiliating expediency, but as an essential instrument of nation-building.

The political, economic, and constitutional choices before us now will affect the horizons for all of us in the decade ahead and it is appropriate that they be explored and debated with vigour and candour. Honest differences should be aired and, in that respect, I do not think a hard fought election now will do our country any harm.

Elections, of course, never really settle as much as we hope. However, this one must involve the fullest and the most conscientious participation of our citizens, because our country requires a national government with an unequivocal mandate to lead.

I am confident that Mr. Clark knows what he wants. However, if Mr. Trudeau also truly seeks that kind of a mandate, I suggest he cool down the innuendos, stop trying to sort out who are the "good" Canadians, and address the issues with a little more respect for who we are and how this country works. One does not earn trust by manufacturing enemies.

Ontario's future as a province and as an economy obviously implies immense change. To resist change would be disastrous and to fear it only demeans our real potential. But to lead the process of competent growth and to discourage entrenchment will require new insights and some degree of good luck. Also, we will have to become even more attentive about the direction and impact of national policy: the future for Ontario is just too fragile and challenging for us to be indifferent about the quality of national policies.

Pundits are having problems with this approach, which was central to all our efforts at the recent national conference on the economy. That is expected when breaking new ground, and I would like to clarify our motives for a moment.

Our prescription for national recovery may be seen as somewhat assertive. However, I have no interest in becoming some sort of mean prophet of the label "Ontario First." Indeed, I am embarrassed, as a citizen of this province, when the Leader of the Opposition, Dr. Smith, accuses the Premier of Alberta of being "un-Canadian." We disagree with Alberta on certain aspects of corporate tax policy and interprovincial trade in resources, but I do not believe it is either helpful or fair to presume that others must be patriots of Ontario to qualify as loyal Canadians.

I am trying to do my best as a representative of what could be described as Ontario *involved*: involved, not merely in its own protection or past shortcomings, but in building more effective national policies and a more expansive and a more secure future for Ontario and Canada.

In the past, I think there was an unstated operating assumption in our political culture that our province's future would look after itself: that steady growth was assured, with or without sound economic and industrial policies across Canada. That, of course, was not true. To a very great extent, the challenges before Canada are the challenges of Ontario. For instance, over the last year almost half the growth of Canada's labour force took place in this province.

Our government is not looking for a fight, but is determined to keep pressing for national policies in areas such as industrial development, manpower policy, and interprovincial and international trade that will assure a better life for a growing population of Canadians living in Ontario. Our responsibility is not to wait for but to *prepare* for a promising future and my perspective is quite straightforward: a second-rate vision of Canada will hurt Ontario and an irresolute Ontario will diminish Confederation.

In this respect, I seem to have become entangled in a stubborn problem with that rather affable fellow, the Honourable René Lévesque. Not only does he refuse to acknowledge my position on "sovereignty-association," which I can live with, but he continues to attempt to mislead the people of Quebec.

Apparently, he thinks I'm kidding when I, and my government's Speech from the Throne, advise that we reject this concept out of hand. According to media reports, he continues to assert, if not honestly believe, that "mutual interest" will force negotiations between Ontario and Quebec when the referendum is over.

I am determined that several things are well understood *before* that referendum is held. To that end, not only our government, but the Legislature of Ontario, representing all the people of Ontario, will have an opportunity to speak out clearly. I anticipate your representatives, regardless of party, will declare, without equivocation, that sovereignty-association is not negotiable, because it represents, no matter how it is merchandized, the secession of our sister province and the dismemberment of Canada.

I would like to make a number of careful assertions, which I sincerely believe reflect the views of fellow citizens whom I am charged to represent.

First, and most important, we will respond to a clear rejection of sovereignty-association in any referendum, as a positive challenge to renew our Confederation and to reaffirm not only the duality and diversity of Canada, but our comradeship as fellow Canadians.

Second, we will not be party to any constitutional discussion which even entertains "sovereignty" for Quebec, or any other province. We are prepared to consider substantial constitutional reform. However, a mandate to "negotiate sovereignty-association," frankly, is not worth the expense. René Lévesque and Claude Morin cannot sneak away with independence on the basis of a hyphenated question. They will remain, in spite of themselves, nothing more and nothing less than representatives of fellow Canadians in the Province of Quebec.

Third, whatever transpires in the months ahead, despite whatever is said by the government of Quebec, never will I nor the people of Ontario ever negotiate such a bilateral arrangement with the government of Quebec, because we are Canadians first. A neat, selfish deal between our two provinces is inconceivable, because we will never cut bait with the rest of Canada.

There are sharp differences of opinion and outlook in our democracy these days and my remarks today hardly disguise that fact. Nevertheless, the ground we hold is good and we can make positive choices about the future.

In the economic arena, our enterprise strategy is firm and showing results. I am convinced that Ontario is poised on the edge of a long period of sustained growth. The basic outlines of our social and economic conditions are right for a substantial economic expansion. There will be short-term difficulties and hesitations, but the underlying trend will be irresistibly upward. With care and effort, stagnation will be a thing of the past.

In the constitutional arena, our government and federalists across Canada are working to renew our system of government in order to keep federalism up-to-date and responsive. But we are not entertaining the dismemberment of Canada and will continue, in our polite way, to expose and confront such defeatist and reactionary ideas.

Perhaps it is trite, but it is quite accurate to say that these are uncertain times for all of us. And there is nothing wrong with that. I think it was an American who once said that men become civilized, not in proportion to their willingness to believe, but in proportion to their readiness to doubt.

Certainly trust cannot be claimed; it must be earned and the optimist, with responsibilities, must be vigilant. However, I reject the trendy pessimism of the day which, I believe, insults the underlying vitality of our wondrously promising country.

Over the last few decades we did indulge in too many certainties, and thus we have had to rediscover that growth is not inevitable and that the modern nation-state does not have a life of its own. Nevertheless, that does not invite or excuse morbid notions of decay or decline, but simply demands that we act our age, as a mature democracy, and get on with the adult business of being a little more wilful about the future and also more conscious of what we are all about.

Truly, the lands of Canada are richly endowed and the people of Canada are magnificently resilient. So renewal, not disillusion, is the agenda before us.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Mr. H.N.R. Jackman, a Past President of The Empire Club of Canada.

APRIL 19, 1979

Building a Nation

AN ADDRESS BY The Honourable Joe Clark,
LEADER OF THE PROGRESSIVE
CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF CANADA

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Madame Minister, distinguished guests, members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: When Joe Clark accepted the club's invitation to speak to us it was a long time ago – long before the election was called – so we are particularly grateful that Mr. Clark wanted to come to speak to us in the normal course of events.

Our speaker was born and grew up in High River, Alberta – a place that has become very familiar to Canadians since his election to the leadership of his party in February, 1976.

After graduating from the University of Alberta, Mr. Clark lectured in political science at that university for two years and then was a practising journalist for CBC radio and television, *The Calgary Herald* and *The Edmonton Journal*.

Our speaker was first elected to the House of Commons in October, 1972 as the member for Rocky Mountain. However, his political career began long before that time. Although much is made of our guest speaker's youthfulness, it belies the fact that he is a seasoned political veteran who became politically active over two decades ago. In fact since 1959, he has held progressively more responsible positions within his party at both the provincial and federal levels.

Since Joe Clark assumed national leadership of his party, over three years ago, I believe it is fair to say that under Joe Clark's stewardship his party is being seen more and more as the viable alternative government. Indeed, when Laura Sabia spoke to this club earlier this season she referred to our speaker and she said, "He is no longer 'Joe Who,' he is 'Joe When.'"

For millions of Canadians on May 22, it will be "Joe Now."

Mr. Clark, I am sure you are aware that many, many in this room wish you the utmost success on May 22. But have you considered, Mr. Clark, the unusual situations that can engulf a Prime Minister? For example, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom was visiting a small town in the north of England when he was invited to tour the local mental institution. He accepted and was met at the gate of the institution by the superintendent. As the superintendent walked with the Prime Minister up the long driveway leading to the main building, they saw a man walking towards them. The superintendent said, "Prime Minister, you see that man approaching us. He has been a patient here for three years and we are releasing him today fully cured." By this time the man was upon them and the superintendent said to the patient, "Rodney, meet the Prime Minister." Rodney looked pityingly and said, "Never mind, mate – they'll soon cure you. When I came in here I thought I was the Shah of Persia."

Ladies and gentlemen, it is with the utmost pride that I present to you the Leader of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada, the Honourable Joe Clark.

THE HONOURABLE JOE CLARK:

Ladies and gentlemen: I appreciate that warm response, although as I think John Robarts in the same position will attest, it is always a mite more comforting at the end of a speech than at the beginning.

I should say that I am very pleased that I can come to an event which none of my critics in the media can call a controlled party event, because how could this be a controlled party event with Joe Potts here? I'm not going to give you a travelogue, but I can say that while I have been calling for this election for a long time, I am pleased that it came at this season because it is a great time of the year to be travelling across Canada.

Joe Potts and the Honourable Joe Clark

The Prime Minister didn't quite keep his promise that we wouldn't be campaigning in the snow and the slush. Some of us are campaigning in the slush more than others! But it is a time to remind oneself of how fortunate we are in Canada, when you can travel Canada in the springtime and see the great diversity of the country, see the sense of reawakening, and feel the confidence that seizes Canadians in all corners of the country in this season of the year. I naturally have a particular interest in giving them something to be confident about on May 22, but that is in their hands.

What I want to do today is speak to you, not simply about some of the issues in the election campaign, but also about some broader questions of approach to the country. I think we recognize that in every election there are important substantive policy differences, whether about mortgage deductability, or about energy self-sufficiency, or about the fundamental question of whether or not Jean Chrétien can count. There are always those important questions. But there are also, occasionally, elections which involve a choice between two quite different ways of seeing the country. In my view, Canadians will have that kind of choice on May 22.

Mr. Trudeau's view speaks for itself, in his record of eleven years as Prime Minister of Canada. My view is less well known, because I am less well known – Laura Sabia to the contrary notwithstanding – because most of my work has been within a national party and within Parliament that usually escape broad public attention. I think that our respective strengths, Mr. Trudeau's and mine, can be compared some other time. I like to think that one measure of our relative wisdom is that now he has Jack Horner and I don't. But today as a prelude to some remarks about *what* a new government would do, I want to give you some idea as to *why* we would do it.

Let me start with a compliment to my opponent. The one important thing Mr. Trudeau has done well in his eleven years is to make the national government attractive to large numbers of able French Canadians. He did that well because he knew personally the discomfort that French Canadians have felt in not being active at the centre of their national government. That discomfort continues, of course, but Mr. Trudeau has reduced it considerably and that is one tradition of his on which I and my party intend to build. What is important is that in that case he understood the problem.

As you will know, I think a central cause of the general failure of his government is that he did not understand, and sometimes did not try to understand, other aspects of Canada's very complex reality. Too often, he and the quite similar people he drew around him tried to change the country to fit their theory about what the country should be. In economic policy, in constitutional policy, in their attitude towards the instincts of the individual Canadian citizen, they have been governing against the nature of the nation.

To govern a nation, one must first understand it. I want to sketch briefly my understanding of this nation, Canada, as we enter the 1980s. First, as the Commission of which Mr. Robarts was such a distinguished member found, our diversity in this country is both utterly inescapable and immensely valuable.

It's typical, I think, that our official emblem – the maple leaf – is not indigenous to two of our provinces and two of our territories. For there are thousands of happy and productive Canadian citizens who are most at ease when they speak neither of our two official languages. We are a nation that is too big for simple symbols. Our preoccupation with the symbol of a single national identity has, in my judgement, obscured the great wealth we have in several local identities which are rich in themselves and which are skilled in getting along with others.

If that truth has been lost on Ottawa's planners, it is not lost on the people of Canada, whether those people are artists like Alden Nowlan or Monique Leyrac or W.O. Mitchell or Gordon Lightfoot or Emily Carr or any of the Group of Seven, whose work evokes their locale, or whether they are citizens who are starting heritage societies, starting history clubs, organizing walks through their own back yards. In an immense country, you live on a local scale. Governments make the nation work by recognizing that we are fundamentally a community of communities.

Of course the national government has to be strong, particularly on economic questions. But it must also be sensitive to the damage that neat theories can wreak upon a diverse country. There is nothing new to that view. Indeed, the successful Prime Ministers of Canada have incorporated that idea into the makeup of their governments, ensuring that every region had senior ministers who were strong enough to keep the government in touch with local realities. That is a fact of life in Canada to which we must return.

A second thing that is important is my view, and that of my party, that our economy in Canada is potentially one of the strongest in the world. We have in abundance resources which are elsewhere in short supply, whether of food or energy or minerals. Capital will come to us, and come to us in ways that we can control. So will as much population as we want. Our challenge in this country is not to cope with scarcity. Our challenge is to build on abundance. Other nations might well be forced, legitimately, to contemplate limits on growth. But our very different challenge here in Canada is to plan and to manage growth.

Finally, our people are ambitious. Whatever cultures we come from, whatever heritage we bring to these shores, we are all of us North American in aspiration. We want to build. We want to grow. Generally, the goals of Canadians are personal goals. A few people in our history have helped build our nation by consciously pursuing national goals, but many more have built this nation by pursuing the personal goals which the nature of this nation allows. The personal goal of most Canadians has been freedom and some security for their family. That caused the settlement of new regions, caused the immigration of new citizens, caused the transplanting of old roots to new ground. A policy designed to make the nation grow must build upon and must not frustrate the instinct of most Canadians to build a stake for themselves.

So what we propose in this election campaign is not just a change in government, but a fundamental change in the very direction of this country, a change that would reflect the value of that cultural and regional diversity, that would build on the natural strengths of our economy, and would recognize that the best instrument of national achievement is the individual initiative of the private citizen and the private sector in this country.

Through the last decade, government has been properly concerned with services to citizens, and we now have a good basic system of services in place. But the challenge of this next decade is to make this nation grow in wealth and to make our people grow in understanding of the great good fortune that we have here in Canada.

We can do that.

I come, as your Chairman said, from the foothills of Alberta, and I have learned late the second language of our country, mais je peux le parler à High River sans danger, sans risque, mais avec le véritable avantage que maintenant je peux comprendre le Québec assez bien à communiquer les aspirations des Québécois aux Albertans, aux Ontarians et les autres Canadiens, et je peux, je croix, communiquer aux Québéçois les aspirations, l'intérêt, la détermination des Canadiens des autres provinces de bâtir une pays avec le Québec. L'avenir du Canada est plus qu'une question de loi. C'est une question de volunté et de comprehension. Il y a deux jours j'étais applaudé quand j'ai défendu la bilinguisme devant un auditoire de la Colombie Britannique. Le peuple canadien a eu assez de toutes les querelles plus ou moins artificielles entre gouvernements. Ils cherchent un terrain d'entente. Ils cherchent des objectifs communes qui respectent la diversité des traditions de chacun.

The great need now, whether it is in constitutional policy or economic policy, is for momentum in this country. In constitutional terms, the fact is that a new national government *can* get agreement on several changes – more likely changes in practice than in law – but several changes and soon, and that will break the impasse of distrust. Once trust is restored to federal-provincial relations, we can begin toward the more profound reforms, reforms whose end purpose must be to confirm national leadership in economic development, and to confirm provincial leadership in the development of the cultures that are strong in the regions and the provinces of this country.

In economic terms, stimulus now will help generate new growth, and signs of permanent restraint by the government in Ottawa will help restore the kind of investor confidence whose absence has bled us in these recent years of so much of the capital we need to cause jobs and growth.

That will be the purpose of our first budget and our first months in office, to generate Canadian consumer demand and to demonstrate Canadian government restraint. In those first months, we will cut spending on advertising and consultant contracts. We will begin the attrition of public service growth. We will start to privatize activities where the government of Canada need not be active in the 1980s. In that first budget, we will cut taxes for low- and middle-income Canadians. We

The President, Reginald W. Lewis and
the Honourable Joe Clark

will allow partial deductibility of mortgage interest and property taxes. We will establish some investor tax credits for small business. We will permit the exemption from capital gains of common shares in publicly traded Canadian-controlled companies.

That stimulus and restraint will create the climate for the kind of agreement on national economic goals which has marked the periods of real economic progress and real economic growth in this country. From the National Policy of Sir John A. Macdonald, through to the reconstruction policies of C.D. Howe, when we have been successful there has always been a framework of economic goals within which government and private economic decisions could be set. Today there is no agreement on national economic goals, yet there has rarely in the history of this nation been a time when that kind of agreement, that kind of consensus, was more urgent for our domestic or international requirements.

The national government cannot impose those goals, but only the national government, only the government of all the people of Canada, has the authority to bring together the economic partners whose agreement is essential to any effective new national policy.

As you know, as a party in opposition we have begun that process of agreement, with conferences on national development policy, first at Montebello, a national conference, and then at Sherbrooke, a regional conference dealing with the economic future of Quebec. As a government, we would begin that official process very quickly, with a representative national conference on Canadian economic goals sponsored by the government in the fall of this year. Our purpose will be to establish a framework for economic development which will identify the strengths upon which Canada can build in the world and guide the decisions of private investors and of public policy.

There is no sense of direction in the Canadian economy today, and that is one reason why so much investment leaves Canada, and also why so much investment that comes or stays here is directed towards acquiring existing operations rather than starting new operations in this country which should be a place of growth. It is absurd for Canada to go to GATT, as we went to GATT, without any coherent agreement on Canadian national industrial policy. It is foolish and wasteful for a coastal nation like Canada to let our shipbuilding capacity run down and then buy our ferries and fishing ships abroad. It is nonsense that this country, of all the nations in the world, is moving towards greater reliance on foreign sources of energy when we have the capacity to be self-sufficient in energy by 1990.

The list of waste and misuse goes on, and its principal cause is that we have lost the sense of common economic purpose. The most basic challenge for a new national government is going to be to bring Canadians together in pursuit of new national economic goals.

Some of the elements of our economic future are evident already. The purpose of a national policy, from Macdonald to

Howe, was to put in place a strong manufacturing sector. In the past decade in Canada, Ottawa's neglect has weakened that base. That, as you know, is the cause of most of our trade deficit and much of our unemployment. We can turn that around, and we intend to do it by introducing tax policies which will help the manufacturing sector in Canada modernize their plants and reduce our dependence on second-hand technology. In that context, naturally, we intend to give particular attention to the small business sector which extends growth and jobs right across Canada, and which has a remarkable reputation in innovation and in productivity.

Again, we have in this country an immense resource base, a base in energy, in minerals, in food, in the skills of our people. But tax law, tariff negotiation, transportation policy have too often worked against the development of those resources. We have to change that, so that tax law, transportation and tariffs are designed to develop those resources, designed to process an increasing proportion of them here, designed to use our surpluses and our products to build a better trading balance.

That resource base can also be a significant source of a stronger manufacturing base. We were in Fort McMurray the other day. It is dramatically evident to me that when a Fort McMurray is developing it ought to mean much more prosperity in manufacturing and technology than the service industries of central Canada. That is precisely how other nations are using Canadian resources to build their manufacturing sectors and their industrial strengths. And I say that it is time for Canada to begin to build on our own strengths, and stop exporting that strength to other nations to be the base of their growth.

We need policy here that recognizes the need to build upon Canadian strengths as well as to continue such exports as we are committed to and which are surplus to our needs, but the rule has to be that we will put a much greater emphasis in this country upon processing and upon realizing the technological and job benefits of having those resources right here at home. The opportunities in that regard are probably most evident for the machinery industry, the construction industry, for transportation. Indeed, it is a striking fact that Canada is the only industrial nation that now imports over fifty per cent of its machinery and equipment.

There are very real opportunities for Canada in resource-related technology, whether that has to do with the recovery of non-conventional oil, or northern ocean technology, or innovation in transportation and communications. As those skills and strengths are developed here, we build a capacity for the export of Canadian-based technology and equipment and skill to the rest of the world.

All of us can think of Canadian innovators who have moved successfully into the world. But they have been left to do that on their own and they have often succeeded in spite of unco-ordinated federal policies concerning taxes, trade, research and development, and in spite of an indifference in Ottawa to Canada's industrial future. We intend to remove those specific obstacles.

Even more important, we intend to change the attitude in Ottawa. We intend to create in Canada an atmosphere in which the innovator and the entrepreneur are encouraged to go out and to build in the world. No one who travels in this country, no one who knows it, can escape being impressed mightily by the great potential that is here, and by the knowledge on the part of the people of Canada that we are a fortunate nation, a fortunate people of unparallelled potential.

The Prime Minister, for reasons that I don't understand, has been suggesting that this is a time when people will have to lower their expectations. He is dead wrong about that. He is selling Canada short when he says that. This is a time for Canadians to raise their expectations. Only if our expectations are high, will we go out and go to work to build. There is a great deal in this country to be confident about.

There is no question in my mind nor in the minds of my colleagues. There is a tremendous potential upon which to build here in Canada. There is no doubt that the people of this country are seized with that spirit of potential. What we need is a government in Ottawa that will encourage and recognize how essential to our future it is that the policy, the attitude, the approach of government get in line with the attitude and the hopes of the people, that we have a government in Canada that is as confident and proud and as buoyant about the future of this country as are the people themselves.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Mr. John A. MacNaughton, First Vice-President of The Empire Club of Canada.

APRIL 26, 1979

President's Report — Annual General Meeting

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Your Highness, Your Excellency, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: Members will have received notice that this meeting is the Annual Meeting of The Empire Club of Canada. Consequently, I would like to submit to you my annual report for the year ending April 1979. With your concurrence, and in the interests of time, I will not read my report. It is reproduced and a copy of it is before you at your tables. I would like to submit my report for your acceptance and in doing so, I want you to know what a great privilege and pleasure it has been for me to preside over this unique and distinguished club.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

Besides our traditional Christmas Luncheon which was graced by our Honorary Vice-President, Colonel the Honourable Pauline McGibbon, the club held twenty-six luncheon meetings during the regular 1978/1979 season.

At the opening meeting of the season, on October 5, the club was addressed by Mr. Claude Ryan, Leader of the Quebec Liberal Party. As this function commenced the program of our 75th season of luncheon meetings, a unique group of head table guests was assembled; the guests represented other organizations enjoying a 75th anniversary year. Music was provided at that luncheon by the excellent concert band of Malvern Collegiate Institute who were also celebrating their 75th anniversary.

In all, two federal politicians addressed the club, five provincial politicians representing three provinces, and three municipal politicians. The three municipal politicians were the mayoralty candidates in the Toronto municipal elections who spoke to the club on October 12. The club was honoured to have as a guest speaker the Prime Minister of Barbados. As well, five speakers came to us from the business world and three from academia. Three leading media figures spoke. Also appearing in our forum this year have been an author, a TV personality and political cartoonist, the Director of the Ontario Science Centre, the Commander of Mobile Command of the Canadian Armed Forces, a leading feminist, the British High Commissioner, and today, the Japanese Ambassador to Canada.

To date, the average attendance at our luncheon meetings, excluding the Christmas Party, numbered 301, and with it, 325.

The federal election is to take place on May 22, 1979 and during the election campaign the club has been addressed by the Honourable Joe Clark, Leader of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada. At a special meeting of May 11 next, the Leader of the federal New Democratic Party, Mr. Edward Broadbent, will speak to the club. Hopefully before the federal election takes place we will be able to welcome as our speaker the Prime Minister.

This being the 75th anniversary year of the club, your Board of Directors was most disappointed that it was unable, in spite of many efforts, to present to you an appropriate special function to recognize this unique occasion. We do expect, however, that the Empire Club will be honoured and the 75th anniversary celebrated at a provincial dinner to be held on June 29, 1979. At the provincial dinner, which will be hosted by Her Honour the Lieutenant Governor, the Guest of Honour will be Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother.

On January 21, 1979, our Honorary President His Excellency the Right Honourable Jules Léger relinquished his appointment as Governor General. His successor, His Excellency the Right Honourable Edward Schreyer, has been invited to become the club's Honorary President. It is anticipated that our new Honorary President will be personally welcomed to the Empire Club at a function to take place during the 1979/1980 season.

The membership of the club as of today stands at: honorary members 10, life members 103, renewals 1970, and new members 394, for a total of 2477. I regret to inform you that this is a decrease from the figures of one year ago which stood at a total of 2555.

Membership fees for the past three years have been held at $17.50. The Directors, because this was our 75th anniversary year, did not want to increase membership fees for this year. At the beginning of the season, a budget deficit of $10,000.00 was anticipated. However, it now appears that the deficit will be about $11,000, with members' equity standing at approximately $15,000. The club has borne a major expense this year in that the year book will contain an index, by author and subject, of all speeches delivered to the club during the past seventy-five years. The club's fiscal year ends April 30, 1979, and the financial statements, together with the Auditor's report, will be printed in the next year book.

The club is indebted to the Empire Club Foundation under the chairmanship of Major General Bruce Legge for its continuing support and efforts on the club's behalf. The Foundation is arranging to publish shortly a special 75th anniversary Empire Club Book that is being co-authored by Margaret Hogan and Scott Young. Without our Foundation's support, the publication of our year books and the special 75th anniversary publication would be impossible.

I am sure I speak on behalf of the general membership when I thank the members of the Board of Directors for the support and direction they have given to the club's affairs. Particularly laudable were the efforts of the chairmen of the standing committees. These were:

Attendance:	J.A. William Whiteacre, M.M., C.D., Q.C., Chairman John D. Herrick, Vice-Chairman
Budget & Finance:	Ronald Goodall, C.A., Chairman Donald H. Carlisle, Vice-Chairman

Christmas Party:	George O. Stafford, Chairman
Constitution & Legal:	Bredin Stapells, Q.C., Chairman
Head Table:	John A. MacNaughton, Chairman Catherine R. Charlton, Vice-Chairman
Membership:	Douglas L. Derry, C.A., Chairman Sarah A. Band, Vice-Chairman
Past President's Dinner:	Brig. Gen. S.F. Andrunyk, O.M.M., C.D., Chairman
Publicity:	Nona MacDonald, B.A., Chairman A. Carlyle Dunbar, Vice-Chairman
Reception:	Clarence B. Crummey, M.D., F.C.F.P.(C), Chairman Dr. James A. Parish, Vice-Chairman
Weekly Notices:	R.A. Robertson, Chairman R.V. Doty, Vice-Chairman

Thanks are also due to the club's Secretary, Mr. Leland H. Ausman, Mrs. Eleanor Cook, Office Secretary and her assistant, Mrs. Betty McAdam. Without their devoted endeavours on our behalf the club could not have functioned as efficiently as it has. Also, I record here the club's appreciation to the management of the Royal York Hotel: Mr. Chuck Burton, the General Manager; Mr. Al Horbay, Catering Manager; Mr. Adriano Ferreira, Convention Head Waiter, and his assistant, Mr. Carlos de Casta, as well as the floormen, Emilio and Sammy.

On a personal note, I want to acknowledge my secretary, Mrs. Heather Cox, and my colleague, Mr. Leonard Eldridge. I am grateful to both for the assistance they gave to me and the many hours they devoted to Empire Club activities.

And finally, may I express my thanks to you, the club membership, for affording me the privilege and pleasure of presiding over our unique and distinguished club in its 75th year.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

The above report was adopted.

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

The Chairman of the Nominating Committee is our Immediate Past President, Mr. Peter Hermant. Mr. Hermant is in England at this time and has asked me to have read to you, on his behalf and in his words, the report of his Nominating Committee. Therefore, I call upon Mr. Hermant's predecessor as President, Mr. William Karn, to table his report.

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

MR. KARN:

Mr. President: It is a pleasure to report to you and to the members of the Empire Club by remote control – and this may be as close to an English accent as I will come during our year here in London – that the Nominating Committee of the club met regularly during the winter months to deliberate on the many matters facing it. I am further pleased to be able to tell you that members of the Committee attended meetings faithfully and that a free exchange of opinions took place, so that I am confident that the choices of the Committee this year reflect accurately the best judgement possible on behalf of the continued success of The Empire Club of Canada.

Those members who gave freely and generously of their time were chosen according to the constitution of the club – five members from the Board of Directors and four members from the general membership. The President of the club served on the Committee in an ex-officio capacity.

Representing the Board of Directors were: Miss Catherine R. Charlton, John G.B. Strathy, C.D., Douglas L. Derry, C.A., Mr. A. Carlyle Dunbar, Mr. Peter Hermant (Chairman).

From the general membership were: M.Gen. Bruce J. Legge, C.M.M., C.St.J., E.D., C.D., Q.C., Mr. Robert L. Armstrong, John Fisher, O.C., LL.B., LL.D., D.S.S., D.Litt., D.U. (Mont.), Col. R.H. Hilborn, M.V.O., M.B.E., C.D.

After careful individual consideration, it is a privilege for the Committee to recommend to you the following people to be elected as Directors on a continuing basis:

Mr. Setrak Adourian
Miss Sarah A. Band
Mr. Donald H. Carlisle
Miss Catherine R. Charlton
Mr. Jerry A. Collins
Clarence B. Crummey, M.D., F.C.F.P.(C)
Douglas L. Derry, C.A.
Mr. R.V. Doty
Mr. A. Carlyle Dunbar
Hugh R. Franks, C.D.
Mr. Donald F. Gray
Mr. Norman B. Hathaway
Mr. John D. Herrick
Nona Macdonald, B.A.
Mr. W. Malcolm McIntyre
Mr. Ian D.C. McPhail
Vladan Milic, B.Arch., F.R.A.I.C.
Dr. James A. Parish
Mr. R.A. Robertson
David A. Rubin, B.A., LL.B.
Dr. Reginald Stackhouse, M.A., B.D., L.Th., Ph.D.
Gordon G. Steele, M.Com.
Lt.Col. Michael A. Stevenson, C.D.
Lt.Col. Hugh P. Stewart, C.D.
Mr. Gordon W. Swayze
Mr. Terrence Tyers
Rev. J. Robert Watt, B.A., B.D.
J.A. Wm. Whiteacre, M.M., C.D., Q.C.

As new members of the Board of Directors, we have pleasure in nominating: Montague Larkin, C.A., Director of Development, Ontario Heart Foundation; Mr. Henri Stalder, Representative, Union Bank Swiss Representative Office for Canada; Reverend Harold F. Roberts, Rector, Church of the Holy Trinity (Guildwood); and Mr. Walter Borosa, Director of Protocol, Government of Ontario.

According to the constitution of the club, the Board of Directors shall consist of forty members, including at least four Past Presidents. The Past Presidents who shall serve on the Board for the forthcoming year include: your most distinguished and immediate Past President, Brig. Gen. Reginald W. Lewis, C.D., Mr. William M. Karn, H. Allan Leal, Q.C., LL.D., and Mr. Peter Hermant.

The club is further guided in its deliberations by its Honorary Officers and it is a pleasure for the Committee to recommend that the following be appointed to Honorary Office: Honorary President, His Excellency the Right Honourable Edward Schreyer, Governor General of Canada; Honorary Vice-President, the Honourable Pauline McGibbon, O.C., B.A., LL.D., D.U. (Ott.), Lieutenant Governor of Ontario; Honorary Solicitor, the Honourable John P. Robarts, P.C., C.C., Q.C.; Honorary Secretary, Mr. Willis L. Blair; Honorary Assistant Secretary, Mr. George O. Stafford; Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Marvin Gelber; Honorary Assistant Treasurer, John Fisher, O.C., LL.B., LL.D., D.S.S., D.Litt., D.U. (Mont.); Honorary Auditor, Harry T. Jamieson, F.C.A.; Honorary Chaplain, the Very Reverend Ernest M. Howse, S.T.M., Ph.D., D.D., Litt.D.

Finally, Mr. President, the Nominating Committee recommends the following slate of Officers for the ensuing year: Secretary, Mr. Leland H. Ausman, who has served the club so well for many years; Treasurer, Ronald Goodall, C.A., who has guided the club through many a financial problem; Third Vice-President, Brigadier General Steven F. Andrunyk, C.M.M., C.D., a talented and distinguished member of the club, who has served it and his community well over a long period. The Committee was particularly pleased that Steve Andrunyk was able to find time in his incredibly busy schedule to devote even more effort to the affairs of the Empire Club; Second Vice-President, John G.B. Strathy, C.D.; First Vice-President, Mr. Charles C. "Bud" Hoffman; and for President, Mr. John A. MacNaughton.

John MacNaughton will be one of the youngest Presidents of The Empire Club of Canada but no person could come to the office with better credentials or having served the club more diligently. Of course, he has been well trained in the tradition of prominent Ontario families who have contributed so significantly to the progress of this province and to our country.

In addition to his livelihood, which John earns with Burns Fry Limited as a member of the Corporate and Government Services Department, which amongst other responsibilities allows him to sign a newsletter sent to several thousands of his friends and acquaintances dictating investment policy, he is active in his profession in a developmental way, having been Director of Education for the Junior Investment Dealers' Association and having completed several courses on investment and securities dealing, including the prestigious "Centres Européens de Langues et Civilisation – Cours avancé."

Those of you who were fortunate enough to hear his eloquent thanks in English and French to Raymond Garneau last year will know the excellent capacity that your new President has with languages. It is possible that he *may* be as bilingual as Joe Potts.

John was born in Exeter, Ontario, and graduated from the University of Western Ontario, with which he maintains an active connection through the University's Foundation of which he has been an officer.

As if his commitment to the Empire Club, of which he has been a Director since 1970, were not enough, John is a member of the Board of Governors of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, and has been politically active in the Progressive Conservative Association of Canada for many years, of which association he recently was the National Secretary, which illustrates, I suppose, the strength of heredity. And speaking of heredity, John is married to Gail and together they have graced with charm and beauty Empire Club functions, large and small, over a long period.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Nominating Committee unanimously and highly recommends to you John A. MacNaughton as your 77th President, and moves the adoption of this report.

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Thank you, Mr. Karn.

May I have a motion of adoption of the Nominating Committee report?

It is moved by Mr. Karn and seconded by Sir Arthur Chetwynd that the report of the Nominating Committee be adopted.

On behalf of the general membership of the club, I want to thank Mr. Peter Hermant, in absentia, for his excellent report, and Mr. William Karn for reading it.

Are there any further nominations?

It is moved by Mr. Cameron and seconded by Mr. Snell that nominations be closed.

Those in favour of the motion say aye.

I ask the Acting Secretary of the club, Mr. Gordon Steele, to cast a single ballot for those Directors named in the report of the Nominating Committee.

MR. STEELE:

Mr. President: As Acting Secretary, and under the terms of Article III-3 of the Constitution of The Empire Club of Canada, I hereby cast this single ballot in favour of those whose names have been read on behalf of the Chairman of the Nominating Committee as members of the Board of Directors for 1979-1980.

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

I now declare those members duly elected as Directors of The Empire Club of Canada for the ensuing club year. It is now my pleasure to congratulate the President-designate, Mr. John MacNaughton, and I invite him to address us.

MR. MACNAUGHTON:

Mr. President, Your Highness, Your Excellency and ladies and gentlemen of The Empire Club of Canada: I am deeply honoured to stand before you as President-elect of this distinguished club – one for which I have both respect and affection.

The generous nomination of Mr. Hermant and his committee is, of course, one that I accept and I thank them for bringing my name forward. As well, I thank you, the members of the club, for your vote accepting their report.

While some of you may regard it as naïve, particularly so the Past Presidents in the room today who know intimately the amount of work involved, I admit publicly that I am looking forward with enthusiasm to the responsibilities that go with this post.

Enthusiasm in the face of the heavy responsibilities assumed today is possible for many reasons. One of them is that you have elected a capable Board of Directors whose hard work will be essential to the success of our upcoming season. Another is that each incoming President of this organization inherits a wealth of Past Presidents who by their collective example have made the road to success a very clear one. I have had the good fortune to have seen many of them in action and I hope that I have learned from the high standards they have set.

In the context of newcomers following example, this anecdote may be of interest to you. American President Coolidge once invited some Vermont friends to dine at the White House. They were worried about their table manners, so they decided to do everything Coolidge did. The meal passed smoothly until coffee was served and the President poured his into a saucer. The guests followed suit. Then he added sugar and cream. The visitors did likewise. Then Coolidge leaned over and placed his on the floor for the cat.

I am not suggesting that respecting the traditions of the Empire Club will put me into a situation as embarrassing as that of President Coolidge's dinner guests. In fact, just the reverse. That the Empire Club, under the presidency of Brigadier General Reginald Lewis, is just completing its 75th anniversary is a strong statement that what it has built is worth emulating and preserving.

Our 75th season has been a celebration year, one made memorable in every aspect by the manner in which Reg Lewis has conducted the affairs of the club. His program, his efficient administration and his insightful and witty introductions of speakers entitle Mr. Lewis to enter the ranks of "distinguished Past Presidents" with the warm feeling that comes from a task completed and well done. To Reg Lewis, on behalf of everyone associated with the Empire Club, I extend a sincere thank you and I invite you to join with me now in showing your appreciation.

I have one item of business. The Directors and Past Presidents are invited to meet briefly in this room at the conclusion of this annual meeting.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, thank you again for the privilege of standing for election as your President.

APRIL 26, 1979

The Japanese — Still Unknown

AN ADDRESS BY His Excellency Michiaki Suma,
AMBASSADOR OF JAPAN TO CANADA

CHAIRMAN The President,
Reginald W. Lewis

BRIG. GEN. LEWIS:

Your Highness, Your Excellency, distinguished guests, members and friends of The Empire Club of Canada: To a Japanese the name of his country is not Japan but "Dai Nihon" or "Nippon," and it is from the meanings of these two words, "dai" meaning "great" and "nihon" meaning "origin of the sun" that we get the phrase which is as familiar to us as is the name of the country, "the land of the rising sun." And The Empire Club of Canada is much honoured today to have as its guest speaker the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan to Canada, His Excellency Michiaki Suma.

To the average North American, the Far East, the Orient and Asia still evoke a sense of mystery, excitement and adventure brought on largely by popular novels and Hollywood movies. Nor is this concept of the Far East necessarily dispelled when we see the words "Made in Japan" on a wide variety of goods which are equally exciting and mysterious to most of us. There are very few Canadian homes that do not possess at least one example of the electronic or photographic wizardry now synonymous with the excellence of Japanese craftsmanship and design. Many of us will never master your language, Sir, but rest assured that names like Sony, Nikon, Yamaha, Kawasaki and Honda have become integral and prestigious parts of the English language.

I venture to suggest that our guest may himself have played a rather significant role in the emergence of his nation as an industrial and commercial giant. He entered the diplomatic service on graduation from the Faculty of Law at the University of Tokyo and rose through progressively more responsible offices in his country's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1961 he began a phase of his career that would see him holding representational posts in almost every continent, first as Consul in New York, as Counsellor in the Netherlands in 1964, as Deputy Director General for Economic Affairs in Tokyo in 1966, as Ambassador to Tanzania in 1969, as Consul General in Hong Kong in 1972, as Ambassador to Malaysia in 1974, and in 1978 he was appointed to his present post as Ambassador to Canada. We are indeed fortunate that a diplomat with such a distinguished record of service to his country has found time in a very busy schedule to address the members of The Empire Club of Canada.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured at this time to present to you the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan to Canada, His Excellency Michiaki Suma.

HIS EXCELLENCY MICHIAKI SUMA:

Mr. President, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: Great is the honour you bestow on me by your invitation to speak today. It was indeed a surprise to be asked to replace Mr. Ushiba and to be encouraged by him and many others to accept this invitation to talk before the prestigious Empire Club. Mr. Ushiba, former Minister of State for External Economic Affairs, deeply regrets that he was unable to come to Canada due to late developments in the Multilateral Trade Negotiations for which he was responsible. He wishes me to extend to The Empire Club of Canada his sincere apologies.

I hope that you, who had been looking forward to enjoying a play performed by a renowned actor and who have suddenly been obliged to listen to it performed by the understudy instead will bear with me.

There is a story about a candidate being examined for the diplomatic service in Japan. It was before the war when Japan

His Excellency
Michiaki Suma,
Ambassador of Japan
to Canada

still had the old constitution. An examiner in English conversation asked an applicant "What is the content of the Emperor's Diplomatic Prerogative?" The applicant answered according to Article 13 of the Constitution and mentioned the Imperial prerogative of declaring war, etc. He then went on to explain that another was that the Emperor appoints an Ambassador – and also disappoints an Ambassador! Former Minister Mr. Ushiba appointed me to accept this pleasant duty, but I hope that does not mean I am to disappoint this distinguished audience.

As you are well aware, in the course of the next two months the Summit Conference of seven industrialized countries of the world, including Canada, will be held for the first time in Asia, in Tokyo. Mr. Ushiba for the last two years has been actively negotiating with other industrialized nations involved in the Multilateral Trade Negotiations for the preparation of such a conference. Only backed by such extensive experience could he have made a speech on the subject which has been announced in your circular. As I lack this immediate experience and as I was told that I could speak on whatever topic I might choose, I would like to revert to an entirely different subject. I believe it is an aspect of international relations that is as important in its way as are economic problems.

My subject is "The Japanese – Still Unknown." I selected it because a better understanding of my country and her people is essential if, together, we are to realize the full potential of the association between our two countries.

Just in case you might think that the Japanese Ambassador is a very brilliant man, I must confess to you that I have drawn on many gifted scholars and writers in organizing my remarks, principally Dr. Watsuji and Professor Chie Nakane.

The products of Japan are widely known in the world. People everywhere are familiar with Japanese brand names and the quality of their contents. Of the Japanese people who have produced this merchandise, however, little is known. Few people actually know the location of Japan on the globe. The typical face of Asia, particularly I think to Canadians, is that of the Chinese people. Japanese culture is hidden behind the façade of the culture of China and is identified with it.

I was greatly surprised that, last autumn while before a gathering of Torontonians, I was introduced as the Chinese Ambassador of Japan. I cannot blame that individual for his mistake because many Canadians might make the same error. If you allow me I will tell you one more story in this regard.

When I served in Tanzania, East Africa, between 1969 and 1972, I was at a gathering of the diplomatic corps when the French Ambassador approached me and said, "Hello, Ambassador of an ultra-capitalistic country. How do you do?" I replied by saying, "When you began to speak I thought you might have asked about the progress of my French." A Chargé d'Affaires of Belgium standing nearby, listening to our conversation, related a conversation he had had with one of his African employees. "Just a few days ago this employee asked me: 'Baroji!' – meaning Ambassador in Swahili – 'why are there two kinds of Chinese in Tanzania? One kind wears dirty clothes, looks poor, but works very hard; another kind wears a good suit, rides in a modern car with a camera on his shoulder, and looks like an American.'" As you will recognize, this was a comparison of the Japanese and Chinese. It emphasizes the confusion in the minds of many people as to just who the Japanese are.

In a conversation last year, your Prime Minister told me that Canadians are not much interested in the outside world. I did not take his words at their face value, but I do believe that interest, as it concerns Japan, may not go very deep. I presume many of you have had contact with Japanese, in a social or business way, and some of you may have negotiated with them since the relationship between Canada and Japan has become so close. But do you really know very much about them, what makes them tick? Does the average Canadian, for instance, know why the Japanese flock to British Columbia with bundles of cash to buy "herring roe?" They are frantic to buy this delicacy and many people find it hard to understand. This is a simple matter of a difference in taste, but there are many other, more fundamental differences. These can only be understood by explaining something of the history and development of Japanese society and culture.

It goes without saying that a human being is affected in his mode of life and also in his mode of thinking by the natural features of the region where he was born and lives. We can safely say that East Asia, including China and Japan, belongs to the monsoon area. Scientists tell us that the people who live in the monsoon area are weaker in their resistance to nature compared with those living in cold climates or in the desert.

They attribute this to the constant humidity. Such humidity is most trying and almost impossible to avoid. Therefore humidity becomes a major influence on human thought and behaviour. It is a power strong enough to discourage human resistance. It makes people subservient. Generally speaking then, we can say human beings living in the monsoon area are passive and subservient.

Nevertheless, we cannot define the Japanese people only in these terms. The abundant humidity brings about, on the one hand, seasonal but abrupt changes such as typhoons, a force incomparable in its fierceness. On the other hand, humidity often takes the form of a rare but heavy snowfall. Japan, therefore, has a very peculiar climate which, because of dense humidity, can give both heavy rain and heavy snow. It is a double structure with both tropical and frigid conditions.

The double nature of the typhoon, seasonal and abrupt, is reflected in the nature of the people. This duality – passive and subservient, tropical and frigid – is basic to an understanding of the Japanese people. As the seasonal typhoon is sudden and fierce, so the sentiment of the people reveals an unexpected and deep intensity. The intensification of the Japanese people's sentiment often finds itself in this abruptness and ferocity. It is a Japanese characteristic to acknowledge and respect this intensity of sentiment, but to deplore its being prolonged. The cherry blossom has a special significance to Japanese. The cherry blossom represents this characteristic in its deepest meaning. It blooms suddenly and with a great show, but does not bloom tenaciously. It blooms quickly and then simply fades away.

When this characteristic is applied to the relationship between man and woman, as we find in many old love stories, it is depicted as a quiet love, keeping passion under control, in a manner aggressive, yet at the same time one of simple resignation. This illustrates typical Japanese love. It exemplifies itself in a double suicide, expressing most eloquently a simple resignation. It affirms love as a negation of life.

What I have said is still basically true. In modern Japan, however, where more than half of the population was born after World War II, numerous metamorphoses are taking place. There may no longer be a "quiet love."

I have placed strong emphasis on climate as a governing factor in character development. But it may be found in family life style, in the houses of Japan and China. The Japanese have, through the ages, always tried in family life to avoid selfishness. A most remarkable feature in our history is that one sacrifices his whole life for his parents, and for his family name. This is one of the reasons why the rate of crime is low in Japan. It is the result of a man's effort to control himself in order not to defame his family's name. In the phenomena of our daily life we understand "uchi" (house) as "uchi" (inside). The world outside of "uchi" (house) is "soto" (outside). Within such "uchi," an individual's differences disappear; for a wife, her husband is "uchi" – man of "uchi" and "taku" (house); for a husband, the wife is "kanai" (within the house). The family is also the men of the house and explicitly disguishes itself from outsiders, but the distinction within is ignored.

By "uchi" (inside), one can understand the entity of a family as a relationship without any fences, separated only from the outside world. You cannot find in the European or American languages such a word which designates the difference between "uchi" (inside) and "soto" (outside). "Uchi" (house) is clearly separated from outside. No locks are on the rooms, but always there is a lock against the outside world. In addition to this, "outside" of the house, you may find fences and sometimes thorny hedges or even a moat to keep out the outside world. If one comes back from "outside" he takes off his wooden clogs or shoes at the porch and clearly divides the "outside world" from his "inside world." In Europe and North America, leaving the room means just what the Japanese do when leaving the porch of their house. Within his room a person can be naked. If he leaves the room and joins his family he has to wear proper attire. Once he leaves "the room" it doesn't make much of a difference whether he is in the family dining-room or in a public restaurant.

The Japanese may appear to have studied the western life style, but they do not live it. Restricted by the concept of "uchi" (house), the Japanese have not been westernized in the sense of adopting a community life, something which is individualistic and social.

This basic concept of "house" and the distinction between "inside" and "outside" have given rise to the Japanese worker's fidelity towards the company for which he works in our modern life. He works in the company, "uchi," for his entire life, bringing about congenial human relations between the worker and his employer.

For the Japanese a unit, from the standpoint of a social unit, is not an individual as westerners believe, but a small group. It is almost tantamount to the term "primary group" in sociology. This means it consists of a small group of people who, almost daily, see each other at work and live together. The prototype can be found in the family "house" which I have just described.

A typical example may be found in a house of a traditional farm village. I do not mean the relationship between family and working companions, but a group of people that try to accomplish a goal through co-operation.

In abstract terms, human relations can be divided into two categories, "vertical" and "horizontal," according to the way in which ties are organized. For example, the parent-child relation is vertical, while the sibling relation is horizontal; the superior-inferior relation is vertical, and the colleague relation is horizontal. Both are important primary factors in relationships in a society's structure. They are particularly so in trying to understand Japan and the Japanese people.

In the vertical relation, in which Japanese social groups are formed, an amazingly delicate and intricate system of rank takes shape. One can list any number of examples to illustrate this. But to sum them up, it is a fact that, even among people with the same status or qualifications, there is a constant consciousness of distinctions based on ranking, which is critical to understanding Japanese social behaviour.

In every society, seniority and merit can be found as part of the social structure, though their relative weight varies. In Japan's case, the seniority system has always been of immeasurably greater significance. But even without turning to the seniority system, which is an institution that developed in modern Japanese society, we can find sufficient examples in the people's daily lives, with their time-honoured traditions, of the deep-rooted inclination toward rank in Japanese society.

In the first place, a Japanese cannot even sit down or talk without being conscious of rank. The traditional arrangement of a Japanese room is a decisive factor in relating seating practice with rank and, when speaking with anyone, the subtleties governing the use of honorific expressions must be observed, the order of precedence and the time allowed each speaker, according to his rank.

In any society, it is impossible for everyone to move upward. Moreover, every society needs middle-school graduates as well as university graduates. Nevertheless, in Japanese society, where the vertical movement upward is intense, a person who remains in the lower strata suffers under a very heavy psychological burden. For, since he is aware of an upward route, his current low stratum will carry the implication that he has lost the race.

I believe such competition between individuals or groups on the same level has made a great contribution to the modernization and, particularly, the industrialization of Japan. The fact that people constantly face upward enlivens their activities. It seems that competition works effectively on individuals and groups as a stimulant and becomes the impelling force in getting things done. At the same time, however, competition can be a shortcoming. This, of course, takes the form of an unjustified waste of energy. It is a matter of common knowledge that in foreign trade, firms that are similar to one another rush to the same buyer and engage in suicidal rivalry – just as in the case of the Japanese chasing after "herring roe" in British Columbia.

As regards leadership, the points worthy of note are that in the vertical type of group it is extremely difficult, though not impossible, to change the leader, and that there can never be more than one leader. The structure of the group makes it quite impossible for two or more persons to hold the same rank at the same time.

For example, in a vertical structure, the relationship between the highest position and secondary positions in the order of rank is not the same as the relationship between the highest position and a third ranking position. The latter can only be established through the secondary position. That is to say, if the relationship between the top position and the secondary level is broken, the third ranking position will no longer be connected to the highest position. Control of the third level is only possible through a secondary level and this means that the stronger the power of the topmost figure in relation to the secondary position, the greater will be the control that position can exercise over the third level. Conversely, if the leader is weak in his relations with his secondary level people, his control over the third level will cease to be effective.

The bureaucratic system is a modern institution, but it shares the same principle as the indigenous system symbolized in the "oyabun/kobun," boss/subordinate, relationship.

Consequently, the Japanese type of group structure, which we are analyzing here, is not something that can be dismissed lightly as "feudal" or "pre-modern." Its principle is, in a sense, modern, and it has proven to be a very effective system. The merits of this structure are that it enables the leader to communicate swiftly with every member, including even the most insignificant, and it is a highly effective means for mobilizing all the members.

Work in Japan is, in fact, carried on by making use of great numbers of people organized in this manner, and I believe the Japanese system is unequalled for smooth vertical communication and speedy mobilization.

The vertical structure is conducive to the smooth and speedy attainment of "unanimity of opinion" within a group, as I have explained already, but it makes things extremely difficult for the group to reach an agreement of views with other groups.

Therefore, unlike leaders in other societies, the Japanese type of leader, no matter how capable, cannot freely put members of his group into action to get something done in accordance with his plan if it is against the strong wishes of other members. He is not only prevented, in this way, from exercising dictatorship, but he is confronted with difficulties in ignoring the general good.

Sometimes there emerges a leader who is known as a "one man" autocrat. But this is limited to cases where the leader's ability is overwhelmingly superior to that of his immediate subordinates, and he has the fullest confidence in his personal relations. Even in such instances, however, he by no means enjoys as much freedom of action as would his counterparts in other societies.

In point of fact, it is better that the leader or "oyabun" should not be a man of genius. If his mind is too sharp and his competence makes his work too efficient, he may alienate his subordinates or "kobun" by giving them a feeling they have lost some of their "raison d'être." The common psychology in the "oyabun/kobun" relation is that, besides depending on his leader, the subordinate wishes, at the same time, to be depended on by him. Everything the leader does and thinks must make sense and appear reasonable to the subordinate.

Rather than a phenomenal ability, the most important qualification of a leader in Japanese society is a personality endowed with understanding and tolerance. No matter how great someone's influence, ability and financial resources may be, he will not make a good leader unless he can gain an emotional hold on his subordinates and, thereby, establish an affinity with them in forming the vertical relationship.

I have attempted to portray in some detail the characteristics of the Japanese and the structure of the Japanese society. I am afraid, however, you might still entertain many questions about Japan and the Japanese. For instance:

"Why do the Japanese love travelling so much?"

"Would it be possible to gain respect from abroad by working only?", for working like ants might appear ghastly to the western world.

"Why don't the big-shots of Japan have personal charm?" There are exceptions of course.

"Although Japan wants to be recognized as a major political power, comparable to her economic strength, where is she heading?"

"In spite of her abundant information on international situations, why is the Japanese analysis of the world situation so simple and emotional?"

"Without the support of a formidable GNP, could such an unappealing nation interest westerners?"

"Why do the Japanese have the queer habit of going in a group on a honeymoon trip?"

The questions could go on indefinitely, far beyond the time available.

We, the Japanese, are presently reflecting as to whether we are on the right course in many areas. Those of you who have been to Japan might have been surprised that there are throngs of people in the concert halls, museums and galleries of Japan. We cannot deny entrance to even the young wife of the "green grocer" who, with her child on her back, attends such performances to satisfy her intellectual curiosity, and who seeks to know herself and her heritage better. This, too, is an aspect of our search. There are many others.

I need not dwell upon the heavy dependence of Japan on the outside world for her subsistence; wheat and rapeseed for food, lumber for our houses and oil and iron ore for our industries. Being so dependent on others, how can Japan act other than to seek friendship from all corners of the world?

Because of physical and resource restraints, Japan is compelled to try to avert economic conflicts with other countries. Carried far enough, these might develop into cultural conflicts. The most important goal for Japan at present, I believe, is to try to create a better understanding in foreign countries of Japan and the Japanese. I hope that I have been able to make a small contribution toward this end today.

There is one posture in Kendo, Japanese fencing, called "Happo Yabure No Kamae." If translated literally, it means a position where all the weapons are broken, and one stands "defenceless on all sides." Japan's position in the world is very similar to this posture. We have to stand on our own feet, but the only way we can live in the modern world is by friendship, and friendship, to be strong, must be founded upon understanding.

I hope I have brought to you this afternoon a better understanding of my people and, to you, from all my people, I offer friendship.

The appreciation of the audience was expressed by Mr. Sydney Hermant, a Past President of The Empire Club of Canada.

1979-1980 *Officers and Board of Directors*

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Constitution

As amended April 26th, 1973

ORGANIZATION OF THE CLUB

ARTICLE I

Name

1. The name of the club shall be The Empire Club of Canada.

Purpose and Object

2. The purpose and object of the club is to promote the interests of Canada and the British Commonwealth by the consideration and discussion of subjects and events relating thereto and by any other means appropriate to the facilities of the club.

MEMBERSHIP

ARTICLE II

Classes of Members

1. The membership of the club shall consist of:
   - (a) Honorary members
   - (b) Life members
   - (c) Regular members
   - (d) Corporate members

   All members of classes (a), (b), (c) must be the full age of eighteen years.

Honorary Members

2. Honorary members may be elected by the unanimous vote of those present at a meeting of the board of directors. They shall be exempt from the payment of fees but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office and their membership shall be terminable at any time by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the board of directors.

Life Members

3. Members of the club in good standing (other than corporate members) and other persons regularly proposed may be elected life members by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the board of directors. Life members shall pay such a fee in one sum as may be fixed from time to time by the board of directors.

Regular Members

4. Save as provided in Section 5 of this Article candidates for regular membership shall be proposed by a member in good standing and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the board of directors.

   Save as provided in Section 5 of this Article regular members shall pay respectively such annual fees as may be fixed from time to time by the board of directors. Members elected after the first day of March in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from the date of election until the thirtieth day of September in the following year. No member in arrears for fees after January 1 shall be considered in good standing.

Corporate Members

5. Any company, partnership or business organization shall be eligible for election as a corporate member. Applicants shall be proposed by a member in good standing and the application shall contain the names and positions of the persons nominated by the applicant as its representative regular members. The applicant and its nominated representatives shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the board of directors. A corporate member shall be entitled to nominate such number of its representative regular members as may be fixed from time to time by the board of directors and shall pay such annual fee as may be fixed from time to time by the board of directors, provided that such fee shall not be less than the aggregate fees which would have been payable on an individual basis by such representative members for the year in

question. Save as in this section provided no fee shall be payable by or in respect of the representative regular members of a corporate member.

DIRECTORS

ARTICLE III

Duties and Powers

1. The affairs of the club shall be managed by a board of directors who may exercise all such powers and do all such acts and things as may be exercised or done by the club and are not by the by-laws or by law directed or required to be done by the club at a general meeting of its members. At all meetings of the board of directors the Chairman of the meeting shall have a casting vote.

Number and Quorum

2. The board of directors shall consist of forty members of whom sixteen shall constitute a quorum. The board of directors shall include at least four past presidents of the club, one of whom shall be the immediate past president and three others shall be the three past presidents immediately preceding the immediate past president if they are willing and able to act as directors.

Election of Directors

3. A nominating committee consisting of five members of the board of directors and four other regular members of the club shall be appointed annually by the board of directors at least thirty days prior to the annual meeting and shall prepare a list of nominations for directors for the ensuing year. The chairman or acting chairman of the nominating committee shall report the nominations of that committee to the annual meeting at which the board of directors shall be elected, but nothing herein shall preclude the nomination of other persons for the office of directors at the annual meeting. If nominations do not exceed the number of directors necessary, the chairman of the meeting may in-

struct the Secretary-Treasurer to cast one ballot in favour of those so nominated and thereupon such persons shall be declared by the chairman to have been duly elected. No person shall be elected a director unless he is a regular member in good standing and is a Canadian citizen or a British subject.

Meetings of Directors

4. Meetings of the board of directors shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Written notice of such meetings shall be given to each director five days or more before the meeting is to take place, provided that a meeting may be held at any time if all the directors are present or if those absent have waived notice of or otherwise signified their consent to such meeting being held in their absence or have approved or signified their approval in writing to the proceedings taken at the meeting. The board may appoint a day or days in any month or months for regular meetings, at an hour or place to be named, and of such regular meeting, no notice need be given.

Casual Vacancies

5. In the event of any vacancy occurring in the office of director, the remaining directors may fill the vacancy from among the members for the unexpired portion of the term of office of the person whose office is vacant.

OFFICERS

ARTICLE IV

1. The officers shall consist of an Honorary President, an Honorary Vice-President, a President, First, Second and Third Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Treasurer, an Honorary Secretary, a Secretary and a Treasurer. The board of directors may from time to time elect or appoint such other officers as it shall deem necessary. The President and the Vice-Presidents shall be directors of the club but other

officers need not be directors. No person other than the Honorary President and the Honorary Vice-President shall be eligible for office unless he is a member in good standing. The President shall, when present, preside at all meetings of the members and of the board of directors. During the absence or inability to act of the President, the Vice-Presidents in order of seniority shall act as Chairman at such meetings and otherwise perform and exercise the duties and powers of the President.

Appointment of Officers

2. The board of directors shall meet as soon as convenient after their election for the purpose of appointing the officers of the club for the period ending April 30 in the next year but each officer shall continue in office until his successor is elected.

Casual Vacancies

3. In the event of a vacancy occurring in any office the board of directors may fill the vacancy for the unexpired portion of the term.

Honorary Auditor

4. An Honorary Auditor shall be appointed at each annual meeting. An audited statement of the finances of the club for the fiscal year shall be published annually and a copy shall be sent to each member.

COMMITTEES

ARTICLE V

1. The following standing committees and the chairman of each shall be appointed by the board of directors as soon as convenient after the election of the board:
   (a) Budget and Finance Committee
   (b) Speakers Committee
   (c) Membership Committee

(d) Constitution Committee
(e) Reception Committee
(f) Publicity and Public Relations Committee
(g) Year Book Committee
(h) Head Table Committee

provided that for any year the board of directors may by resolution elect not to appoint any one or more of such committees.

2. The President or the board of directors may from time to time appoint such other committees as may be deemed expedient.

MEETINGS OF MEMBERS

ARTICLE VI

General Meetings

1. The club shall hold general meetings weekly, if possible, from October to April, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as may from time to time be determined by the board of directors. Special meetings of the club may be called at any time by the President.

Annual Meeting

2. The annual meeting shall be held not later than April 30 in each year. At the annual meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Secretary-Treasurer.

Notice of Meetings

3. Written notice of all meetings of members shall be given all members of the club before the date on which the meeting is to be held. Such notice shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto. The accidental failure or omission to give notice to any member shall not invalidate the proceedings at any meeting.

Quorum at Meetings

4. Sixteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the club, general, annual or special, and the Chairman of the meeting shall have a casting vote.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

5. No business other than the hearing of the addresses shall be introduced at any meeting of the club by any person other than the chairman of the meeting, unless it has been submitted to the board of directors and received its approval.

FISCAL YEAR

ARTICLE VII

The fiscal year of the club shall end on such day in each year as may be fixed by the board of directors but unless so fixed by the board shall end on April 30.

AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE VIII

Subject to the provisions of The Corporation Act this constitution may be amended by the board of directors, but unless in the meantime confirmed by a majority of the members present in person at a meeting of the members duly called for that purpose, any amendment is effective only until the next annual meeting of members unless so confirmed thereat and, in default of such confirmation thereat ceases to have effect at and from that time, and in that case no new amendment of the same or like substance has any effect until confirmed at a meeting of the members.

Membership

1978–1979

HONORARY MEMBERS

Cartwright, The Hon. Mr. Justice J.R.
Comber, Walter W.
Gardiner, F.G., Q.C.
Hargraft, George M.
Harpham, Horace
Jamieson, H.T., F.C.A.
Kemp, A.S.H.
McIntyre, W.M.
Michener, The Rt. Hon. Roland, P.C., Q.C.
Ralph, R. Ford
St. John, J. Stanley

LIFE MEMBERS

Allan, William N.
Anderson D.S.
Bagnato, Victor V.
Bassett, John
Batty, Joseph
Baxter, Ian S.
Beare, S.E.
Beatty, D.S.
Bennett, Dr. Ross C.
Best, Douglas W.
Borins, Norman
Boyles, Thomas A.
Brooks-Hill, F.B.
Burns, Charles F.W.
Burke, E.T.C.
Carter, Charles
Caswell, W.A., J.P.
Chetwynd, Sir Arthur R.T.
Clark, H. Spencer
Craig, Lt. Col. John A.D.
Cranfield, Dr. Harold V.
Crummey, Dr. Clarence B.
Deacon, Fraser
DelZotto, Elvio
Douglas, Lt. Col. R.G., O. ST.J., C.D.
Du Vernet, E.A., Q.C.
Eaton, Donald L.H.
Eisen, Sol.
Fabbro, J.J.
Frost, Col. C.S. Jr., Q.C.
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Paton: Prospects of International Order. 1941-42.
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Rosengren: Men, Money and Material. 1941-42.
— Myth of the Militia. 1942-43.
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Stewart: What is Now at Stake in Europe. 1940-41.
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Wemp: On Active Service with the Fighting Forces. 1942-43.
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Black: The New Yukon. 1922.
Bristol: Yukon Territory. 1905-06.
Craig: Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Yukon. 1911-12.

AUDITORS' REPORT

To the Members,
The Empire Club of Canada,
TORONTO, Ontario

We have examined the Balance Sheet of The Empire Club of Canada as at 30th April, 1979 and the Statement of Income and Accumulated Surplus for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests and other procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, these Financial Statements present fairly the financial position of the Club as at 30th April, 1979 and the results of its operations for the year then ended in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles appropriate for non-commercial organizations, applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

LEMAY AND PEACOCK
Chartered Accountants
Honorary Auditors

TORONTO, Ontario
22nd June, 1979

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND ACCUMULATED SURPLUS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH APRIL, 1979

	1979	1978
Income:		
Membership Fees (including Life Membership Fees, $1,200 [1978 – $700])	$42,104	$42,962
Luncheons, Net	9,738	7,640
Interest:		
General	2,226	2,464
Life Membership Fund	643	599
Other	297	292
	$55,008	$53,957
Expense:		
Members' Notices	$18,233	$19,435
Office Salaries and Employee Benefits	15,943	15,098
Year Book	16,161	6,430
Publicity and Promotion	3,581	1,228
Printing, Stationery and Postage	6,092	5,062
Rent, net	1,703	1,325
Meeting	2,389	2,926
Office and General	1,696	1,365
Telephone	977	996
	$66,775	$53,865
Net Income (Loss) for Year	($11,767)	$ 92
Accumulated Surplus at beginning of year	16,733	16,641
Accumulated Surplus at end of year	$ 4,966	$16,733

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30TH APRIL, 1979

ASSETS	1979	1978
Current:		
Cash	$31,998	$36,449
Accounts Receivable	336	792
Inventory of Club Ties and Scarves at cost	1,842	–
	$34,176	$37,241
Government of Canada Bonds, 4½%, 1983, at cost (Market Value $5,010 [1978 $4,950])	5,757	5,757
Office Furniture and Equipment, at nominal value (Note 1)	1	1
	$39,934	$42,999

LIABILITIES

	1979	1978
Current:		
Accounts Payable and Accrued	$10,221	$ 6,324
Due to The Empire Club Foundation (Note 1)	12,595	8,020
Membership Fees and Luncheon Tickets paid in advance	2,152	1,922
	$24,968	$16,266

MEMBERS' EQUITY

	1979	1978
Life Membership Reserve Fund (Note 2)	$10,000	$10,000
Accumulated Surplus	4,966	16,733
	$14,966	$26,733
	$39,934	$42,999

On behalf of the Board

R.W. Lewis
Douglas L. Derry, C.A. } Directors

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS – 30TH APRIL, 1978

NOTE 1 – *Accounting Policies:*

Office Furniture and Equipment is recorded at nominal value and additions are charged to expense in years acquired.

The estimated charge from The Empire Club Foundation for the cost of supplying the Membership with the Year Book of the current year is accrued each year.

NOTE 2 – *Life Membership Fund:*

This Fund was created by appropriation from Accumulated Surplus as at 30th April, 1975 in order to provide a continuing income to sustain the membership costs of Life Members.

NOTE 3 – *Lease Commitment:*

The Club occupies office space under a five year lease terminating on 30th September, 1982. Annual Rental Charges under this lease for the fiscal years are:

1980	$4,353
1981	4,616
1982	4,878
1983 (5 months)	2,078

THE EMPIRE CLUB FOUNDATION

The 75th Anniversary year has been one of great activity for the Foundation and the Directors are happy to report that our 75th Anniversary Book by Scott Young and Margaret Hogan is now in the hands of the publishers, Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited.

For our 1978-1979 Yearbook there is also a comprehensive index listing all the speakers and all the subjects presented in our famous forum during our first seventy-five years. This was compiled by Miss Margaret McKelvey to whom we are indebted for her meticulous research.

As always The Empire Club Foundation is most grateful to our benefactors, donors and contributors to the 75th Anniversary Fund, the names of whom appear with the Auditor's Report and our Financial Statements of the thirtieth of April, 1979.

B.J. Legge
President

THE EMPIRE CLUB FOUNDATION

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Vice-Presidents	H.N.R. Jackman R.H. Hilborn
Past President	J.W. Griffin
Honorary Secretary	R.B. Stapells
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BENEFACTORS

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Algoma Central Railway

Bank of Montreal
Bank of Nova Scotia
Bralorne Resources Limited

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Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce
Canadian Pittsburgh Industries
Canadian Reinsurance Company
CFCF Multiple Access Limited
Consolidated Bathurst Limited
Continental Group of Canada
Commercial Union Assurance Group

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B.J. Legge, Q.C.
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Minas Basin Pulp & Power Co. Ltd.
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Redpath Industries Ltd.
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Rothmans of Pall Mall Canada Limited
Royal Bank of Canada
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Southam Press Limited

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Mack Trucks Canada Inc.

AUDITOR'S REPORT

To the Members of
The Empire Club Foundation

We have examined the balance sheet of The Empire Club Foundation as at April 30, 1979 and the statement of income and expenses and deficit for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and accordingly included such tests and other procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion these financial statements present fairly the financial position of The Empire Club Foundation as at April 30, 1979 and the results of its operations for the year then ended in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

SMITH, NIXON & CO.
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

TORONTO, June 28, 1979

THE EMPIRE CLUB FOUNDATION

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES AND DEFICIT FOR THE YEAR ENDED APRIL 30, 1979

	1979	1978
Income		
Donations –		
The Empire Club of Canada	$ 9,000	$11,000
Other	16,005	19,723
Interest earned	10	31
	$25,015	$30,754
Expenses		
Stationery and postage	548	635
Year book expense	25,732	22,954
	$26,280	$23,589
Excess of income over expenses (expenses over income) for the year	(1,265)	7,165
Deficit – beginning of year	222	7,387
Deficit – end of year	$ 1,487	$ 222

See accompanying note.

THE EMPIRE CLUB FOUNDATION

BALANCE SHEET AS AT APRIL 30, 1979

	1979	1978
ASSETS		
Current Assets		
Bank	$ 5,202	$ 3,144
Deferred year book expense	967	748
	$ 6,169	$ 3,892
LIABILITIES		
Current Liabilities		
Accounts payable	$ 7,656	$ 4,114
MEMBERS' DEFICIENCY		
Deficit	1,487	222
	$ 6,169	$ 3,892

Signed on behalf of the Board

B. J. Legge
Robert H. Hilborn } Directors

See accompanying note.

NOTE TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED APRIL 30, 1979

SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES

(a) The Foundation recognizes income from donations when received.

(b) The Foundation recognizes other income and expenses as earned or incurred.

THE EMPIRE CLUB FOUNDATION
75th ANNIVERSARY FUND

AUDITORS' REPORT

To the Members of
The Empire Club Foundation

We have examined the balance sheet of The Empire Club Foundation – 75th Anniversary Fund as at April 30, 1979 and the statement of income and expense for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and accordingly included such tests and other procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion these financial statements present fairly the financial position of The Empire Club Foundation – 75th Anniversary Fund as at April 30, 1979 and the results of its operations for the year then ended in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles.

SMITH, NIXON & CO.
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

TORONTO, June 28, 1979

THE EMPIRE CLUB FOUNDATION
75th ANNIVERSARY FUND

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE
FOR THE YEAR ENDED APRIL 30, 1979

Income	
Donations	$10,333
Interest earned	29
	$10,362
Expense	–
Excess of income over expense and equity – end of year	$10,362

THE EMPIRE CLUB FOUNDATION
75th ANNIVERSARY FUND

BALANCE SHEET AS AT APRIL 30, 1979

ASSETS

Current Assets	
Bank	$ 2,362
Deferred 75th anniversary book expense	8,000
	$10,362

MEMBERS' EQUITY

Equity	$10,362

Signed on behalf of the Board

B. J. Legge
Robert H. Hilborn } Directors

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE 75th ANNIVERSARY FUND

G.W. Adams
Adamson Associates
Adourian's Rug Galleries Limited
A.C.R. Albery
N.W. Allingham
A. Allison
Mrs. Mona C. Allworth
K.B. Andras
Stephen F. Andrunyk
Donald Angus
Robert L. Armstrong
Atwell Fleming Printing Co. Ltd.

Samuel Back
J.C. Barrow
Gerrard Bastien
Donald H.W. Bath
Willis Blair
James Bunton

CFRB Limited
CMI Toyota
Mrs. Dorothea Carter
Harold J.A. Chambers
Ms. C.R. Charlton
Chetwynd Films Limited
Miss Mattie Clark
H. Spencer Clark
J.M.W. Code
J.L.A. Colhoun
Creditel of Canada Ltd.
Clarence B. Crummey
Donald M. Cutler

R.G. Dale
Wm. B. Dix
C.R. Douglas
R.G. Douglas

Eaton's of Canada Ltd.
The Eaton Foundation
Erco Industries Ltd.

Alexander Franklin
Mrs. Marion E. Fraser
C. Sydney Frost
J. Dudley Fryer
John A. Fullerton

Richard R.C. Geary
Marvin Gelber
Joseph J. Gelleny
General Mills Ltd.
General Motors of Canada Limited
C. Warren Goldring
F.L. Gooderham
John E. Grier
J.W. Griffin

Norman B. Hathaway Assoc.
H.V. Hearst
D.A. Henderson
Kathleen E. Hermant
Sydney Hermant
Robert H. Hilborn
Charles C. Hoffman
Peter W. Hunter
A.D. Hutchinson

InterBake Foods Limited
A.B. Irwin
John F. Irwin
C. Robert Ivey

William M. Karn
James W. Kerr
V. Koby

D.A. Lang
Arthur J. Langley
John V. Lawer
B.J. Legge
Friedrich Lehner
William Leibel
R.W. Lewis
Miss Hillery J. Lloyd

Ms. Nona Macdonald
Ronald MacFeeters
Bruce MacMillan
John A. MacNaughton
Donald R. McCallum
A.R. McIntosh

W. Malcolm McIntyre
McLeod Young Weir Limited
Ian D.C. McPhail
Magna International Inc.
M.R. Marshall
Jack Martin & Son
David Monson
N.B. Monteith

NCR Canada Ltd.
New Zealand Lamb Co. Ltd.

George Ollerenshaw
A.S. Olver

James A. Parish
Eric Partington
Peoples Jewellers
Bruce G. Powley

L.G. Rector
Sir Neil M. Ritchie
D.A. Robertson
R.N. Robertson
W. Kenneth Robinson
Edward S. Rogers
G.H. Rogers
Richard Rohmer

Robert B. Salter
T. Tweed Samis
Scotia Covenants Limited
Joseph Sedgwick
A.H. Sellers
Hon. Mitchell Sharp
Norris E. Sheppard
Simpsons-Sears Limited
Smith Nixon & Co.
George O. Stafford
Staffordshire Sales Ltd.
State Farm Insce. Companies
Bette M. Stephenson
Stinson Theatres Ltd.
C.M.A. Strathy
H.B. Style
Summit Restoration Inc.
Gordon W. Swayze

Eric F. Thompson
Robert N. Topp
Toronto Dominion Bank
Touche Ross & Co.

John T. Valiant
I. N. Van Nostrand

John Wasylenko
J. Clifton Weir
J. Roy Weir
Wm. F. White
J.A. William Whiteacre
W.P. Wilder
Norman F. Wilton

Y & R Properties Ltd.
Ben A. Yolleck